National Anti-Slavery Standard.

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National Anti-Slavery Standard.

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Pro-Slavery.

From the Weekly Platte Argus.

SUBSTANCE OF THE REMARKS MADE BY SENATOR ATCHISON,
On Monday, 6th November, 1854.

Gen. Atchison said that last summer one year ago he had the honour of addressing his fellow-citizens of Clay county upon the absorbing question of the organization of what was then called "the Nebraska territory," a central railroad to the Pacific Ocean, &c.

The position he then took was, that he would not advocate or vote for any bill to effect the organization of a government for that territory, unless the Missouri Compromise should be repealed. This position was taken by him in speeches made in Platte, Buchanan, Jackson and other counties; and for the sentiments then expressed, it would be remembered, he was soundly abused by the whole Free Soil press of the State.

At the beginning of the last session of Congress, he consulted and advised with many gentlemen, both from the North and the South, upon the subject, and particularly with Judge Douglas, who had been, and whom he expected again to be, Chairman of the Committee on Territories. To that committee all territorial bills are referred, and by it all such bills are reported.

Douglas was of opinion that justice required the repeal of the law of 1820; that the principles of the territorial bills of 1850, commonly called the compromise measures of that year, required it; that the question of slavery, of right, belonged to the people of the territories who were to be affected by it, and to none others.

He was known to be in favour of non-intervention by Congress upon this subject, and reported a bill in accordance with that principle. For that bill General Atchison said he voted, and it was supported by the whole South, with but a few exceptions, and by a large portion of the Northern Democracy, and is now the law of the land.

The Free Soil press of this and other States have attempted to manufacture something detrimental to Judge Douglas out of some remarks that he had made at Atchison City, a few weeks since, in connection with this subject.

The report of those remarks was in some respects inaccurate, but not intentionally so, as he has now good reason to believe; even as reported they have been vilely perverted for the purpose aforesaid. It had been said that he dictated to Douglas the repeal of the slavery restriction.

Nothing could be more false. Judge Douglas, he said, was not a man to suffer dictation from any quarter. That bill was dictated by his (Douglas's) own judgment, his sense of justice and his patriotism, carried through by his energy and eloquence, sustained by the South and the Democracy of the North. For this he has been denounced by the Abolition and Free Soil press of the whole Union. Not one of them, it is said, dare publish the bill, for the bill itself would answer their slanders and falsehoods. Not one of them, he presumed, had ever published one of Douglas's or any other speech in advocacy of the bill; but he would venture to say that nine-tenths of the papers and demagogues who now denounce Douglas and the bill have been in the habit of denouncing him for the last ten years. He will survive it all, and come off, as heretofore, victorious.

It had been said that it was his (Atchison's) object to "kill off" Douglas, as the South had no further use for him. This is a falsehood on its face. What! kill off one of the chiefs of a class of men in the northern States to whom the South alone can look for justice and the preservation of their constitutional rights and the equality of the States? If he desired a dissolution of the Union, the most speedy way to bring it about would be to kill off such men as Douglas, Dodge, Bright, Cass and others who think and act with them.

To sustain such men in the North, is to sustain the Constitution and the Union. The "*suppressio veri et suggestio falsi*" are alike resorted to by them. In the city of Chicago, the place of his (Douglas's) residence, they refused to hear him. Men who are for the repeal of a bill they have never read; men who are for the repeal of the Fugitive Slave law; who declare against the admission of any slave State into the Union; who declare for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and whose object is to abolish the slave trade between the States, are the men who band together to gag Judge Douglas. These are the men who have allies in a portion of the press of Missouri, and this portion of the press, for four or five years, weekly if not daily, had teemed with abuse, falsehood and vile slanders of himself, their falsehood only equalled by their malice. All of this he had borne with patience and without reply. The work of answering their *lies* would be as "toilsome, and more filthy, than the labour of Hercules in cleansing the stables of Augean."

But upon this subject he said he had dwelt longer than it deserved. He would now pass to another; the settlement of Kansas—its destiny, and the effect it was to have upon the State of Missouri.

The organic law of the territory vests in the people who reside in it the power to form all their municipal regulations. They can either *admit or exclude slavery*; and this is the only question that materially and directly affects our interests.

Upon this subject it would not be necessary for him to say one word, if things had been left to their ordinary and natural course. Men heretofore migrated and settled new territories upon this continent, from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, following the parallels of latitude, and carrying with them their habits, customs and institutions. But now new laws are to govern. New lines, new habits, customs and institutions are to be substituted, and that, too, by the force of money and organization.

The North is to be turned to the South, and all the territories of the United States to be Abolitionized; colonies are to be planted in all places where slavery and slave institutions can best be assailed; and Kansas is now a favourite position from whence they can assail Missouri, Arkansas and Texas. Men are being sent, from Massachusetts and elsewhere, for the avowed purpose of excluding slaveholders from Kansas, and, as a matter of course, to seduce, steal and protect fugitive slaves. The first thing, however, they have to do is to throw into Kansas a majority of votes to control the ballot-boxes.

This is the policy of the Abolitionists. These means are used by them. Their money and all other influences they can bring to bear are to be exerted for this purpose.

General Atchison said that his mission here today was, if possible, to awaken the people of this county to the danger ahead, and to suggest the means to avoid it. The people of Kansas, in their first elections, would decide the question, whether or not the slaveholder was to be excluded, and it depended upon a majority of the votes cast at the polls. Now, if a set of fanatics and demagogues, a thousand miles off, could afford to advance their money and exert every nerve to Abolitionize the territory and exclude the slaveholder, when they have not the least personal interest, what is your duty? When you reside in one day's journey of the territory, *and when your peace, your quiet and your property depend upon your action, you can, without an exertion, send five hundred of your young men who will vote in favour of your institutions.*

Should each county in the State of Missouri only do its duty, the question will be decided quietly and peaceably at the ballot-box. If we are defeated, then Missouri and the other southern States will have shown themselves recreant to their interests and will deserve their fate. The Abolitionists will have nothing to gain or lose. It is an abstraction with them. We have much to gain and much to lose.

Said he, if you burn my barn, I sustain a great loss, but you gain nothing. So it is with the Colonization Societies and the dupes they send here to Abolitionize Kansas.

If these Abolitionists steal all your negroes, they gain nothing; the negroes are injured, you are ruined—so much greater is the motive for activity on your part.

Fellow-citizens, we should not be apathetic when so much is involved. We should be up and doing. He was for meeting organization with organization. He was for meeting those philanthropic knaves *peaceably* at the ballot-box and out-voting them.

If we cannot do this, it is an omen that the institution of slavery is to fall in this and the other southern States; but it would fall after much strife, civil war and bloodshed.

If Abolitionism, under its present auspices, is established in Kansas, there will be constant strife and bloodshed between Kansas and Missouri. Negro-stealing will be a principle and a vocation. *It will be the policy of philanthropic knaves, until they force the slaveholder to abandon Missouri—nor will it be long until it is done.* You cannot watch your stables to prevent thieves from stealing your horses and mules; neither can you watch your negro quarters to prevent your neighbours from seducing away and stealing your negroes.

If Kansas is Abolitionized, all men who love peace and quiet will leave us, and all emigration to Missouri from the slave States will cease. We will go either to the North or to the South. *For himself, he could gather together his goods and depart as soon as the most active among us. He had neither wife nor child to impede his flight.* In a hybrid state we cannot live; we cannot be in a constant quarrel—in a constant state of suspicion of our neighbours. The feeling is entertained by a large portion of mankind everywhere.

Yet, he said he was willing, notwithstanding his pacific views, to hang negro thieves; he would not punish those who merely entertained abstract opinions; but *negro thieves*, and persons who stirred up insubordination and insurrection among our slaves, he believed it right to punish, and they could not be punished too severely; he would not punish a man who believed that rape, murder or larceny was abstractly right; yet he would punish the man who committed either.

He said that there were a few men who entertained those opinions in the western part of the State of Missouri, and who, no doubt, practised upon them, and that, when full evidence was obtained, *justice* should be done them. Convincing evidence must be had. He was opposed to violence—indiscriminate violence—but let punishment fall on *the guilty.*

Was it not strange to find, in a State so deeply interested in the question of slavery, a portion of the press denouncing such men as Douglas, Cass, Bright and others, and exulting over victories lately obtained by the Abolitionists in the northern States? Yet it was so. As to slanders and abuse heaped upon himself, he cared but little. It was the fate of better men. But a day of reckoning would come. There will be a reaction in the northern States. The people of the North cannot be in favour of dissolving the Union.

The mad platforms upon which the recent fusion victories have been obtained, if carried out, would inevitably dissolve the Union.

He had always *had great confidence in the intelligence and virtue of the people, but he acknowledged that this confidence had been somewhat shaken in late years.*

He again told the audience that, to succeed in making Kansas a slave territory, it was not sufficient for the South to talk, but to act; *to go peaceably and inhabit the territory, and peaceably to vote and settle the question* according to the principles of the Douglas bill.

Selections.

From The National Era.

THE NEW PARTY AND SLAVERY.

As the Know-Nothings now constitute a distinct, manifest and powerful political party, extending into every State of the Union, and openly aspiring to the control of the Federal Government, its relations to the Question of Slavery become of vast importance. The People of all sections have a right to know what their position and purposes are on this vital question.

We said lately that they had ignored it; that they had acted so far with little or no reference to it; but that they must take a definite position in relation to it. We repeat now, that, as they claim to be a National Party, and propose to obtain the control of the Federal Government, they must decide upon this question, either for slavery or against it—for the doctrines concerning its relations to the Constitution maintained by slaveholders, or by their opponents; for the Fugitive Slave Act, the Compromise Measures, the Slavery Propagandism that is seeking to grasp Dominica, Cuba and California, and so much of Mexico as it can assimilate, or against them.

It is undeniable that many anti-slavery men, many even of those who have hitherto acted with the Free Democracy, have joined the new party, while others of the same classes look with favour upon it. We quoted, a week or two since, an extract from an editorial in the *Portage County (O.) Democrat*, hitherto a Free Democratic paper, justifying its policy. Other papers of the same class, East and West, by their non-committalism, betray their leaning towards the Order. In Indiana, at a State celebration, on the 1st instant, by the Republicans, of their recent victory, unmistakable indications were furnished of their sympathy with the invisible party; and both the *Journal* and the *Free Democrat* of Indianapolis, the latter hitherto the State organ of the Free Democratic Party, and the former the State organ of the Republicans, avow, if we do not misunderstand them, Native American principles. In Massachusetts, the election returns show the almost total absorption of the Free Democrats and Republicans by the mysterious Order. The results in three hundred and eight towns of the State (all except twenty-one) are remarkable:

1852.	
Whig candidates	52,683
Democratic candidates	45,876
Free Soil candidates	28,023
Webster ticket	1,670
Native American ticket	165
	128,416
1854.	
Gardner, Know-Nothing	78,843
Washburn, Whig	26,135
Bishop, Democrat	13,195
Wilson, Republican	6,518
Wales, Old Line Democrat	313
All others	747
	125,751
Whig loss	26,548
Administration loss	32,681
Free Democratic loss	21,505
	80,734

It will be seen that the Know-Nothing vote has gained nearly all that the other three parties have lost. The Whig Party loses one half, the Administration Party two-thirds, the Free Democratic three-fourths of its numbers.

The facts we have presented show clearly enough that Free Soilers, Free Democrats, Republicans, call them what you will, are extensively committed to the new organization. Now, it is not for us to charge them with apostacy from Anti-Slavery principles, with disloyalty to the cause they have so long maintained, with any dishonest purpose whatsoever. Mr. Wilson, the candidate of the late Republican Party in Massachusetts, in his letter declining the nomination (which was not accepted), declared that he had "assumed no obligations inconsistent with the strictest fidelity to the pledges" he had publicly given; and he added:

"I wish, also, to say that I belong to no organization where I have been required to modify or qualify in any degree my anti-slavery sentiments or to repress their utterance. For more than eighteen years, on all fit occasions, I have fearlessly uttered those anti-slavery sentiments in the face of friends and of enemies, and I shall continue to do so while I live."

Other Know-Nothings, like Mr. Wilson, will doubtless hold the same language, asserting that they are not required by their organization to modify or qualify in any degree their anti-slavery sentiments. In fact, it would seem that a majority of the Congressmen elected by the new party in Massachusetts are or have been "Free Soilers," so-called. Darrell, Comins, Burlingame, Banks, Knapp, De Witt and Trafton, seven out of the eleven elect, are so reported. And Mr. Gardner, the candidate for the Governorship, deemed it expedient, in reply to the charge brought against him by Judge Allen, to place himself openly on anti-slavery ground before the election:

"It is not true," he wrote, "that I am or have ever been in favour of the Fugitive Slave Bill. I never voted for a man who favoured it, knowing such to be his views, and I must very much change before I ever do. I never, by word, act, or vote, favoured its passage, and I am an advocate of its essential modification, or, in lieu thereof, its unconditional repeal. Returning from Canada, last June, I read in the cars that there was a petition for its repeal at the Exchange news room, and on my arrival, before even going to my place of business, I hastened to the Exchange and signed the petition.

"To the general assertion that my 'life is covered all over with the badges of the slaveholder,' I can only interpose a general denial. You have been very much misled in your estimate of my character. Were it not a little egotistical, I might say my heart beats as earnestly for the rights of the North, and my determinations are as steadfast to oppose the aggressions of the South, as yours or your informant's. But I am not content with a general denial. I ask that the particulars be given—point to the place, the time and the act—state the words, the votes, or the deeds, whereon this charge is based. And if those on whose authority you make it cannot furnish them, I ask you, in common fairness, to recall this statement, so untrue, so unjust.

"To the charge of being a 'pro-slavery man' and an 'old hunker,' I state a single fact. I was not elected by the Whig Convention a member of the State Central Committee of that party, but, several vacancies having occurred, I was verbally invited by its secretary to attend a meeting held soon after the passage of the Nebraska bill. I was present and offered a resolution, which I sustained in a speech, to the effect that the Whig organization would call a Convention of the opponents of the Nebraska bill, without distinction of party, to nominate fusion candidates for State officers, as was done in Ohio, Vermont, Michigan and other States. This resolution was, however, lost, and its defeat was one of a series of events which placed me in the political position I this day occupy.

"I headed the petition for the use of Faneuil Hall for the great Anti-Nebraska Meeting in Feb. last. I procured the officers and speakers. I called the meeting to order, and made the opening address, and think (though I have not the record by me) was one of its Vice-Presidents. The petition is in the city archives, the other facts in the journals of the day; and yet I am now charged with being a Nebraska man?"

Certainly, it would seem from the reply of Judge Allen, and the documentary testimony furnished in his letter, that Mr. Gardner had forgotten some passages in his own history, which sustained the Judge in his material allegation, but this does not concern us now. It is sufficient to know that he placed himself publicly on Anti-Slavery ground, while the Know-Nothing candidate for the Governorship, and is now bound by his recorded declarations.

But, the peculiar policy of the Know-Nothings cannot be carried out except through the action of the Federal Government. Naturalization laws cannot be repealed or modified but by Congress. Foreign-born citizens cannot be left out of the numerous offices under the Federal Government but through the exercise of the patronage power of the President. All that the Know-Nothings have done in the States is merely preliminary. They claim to be a National party, and their chief concern is with National objects. Acting in their several States, in State affairs, and under the oath of secrecy, it is easy enough to manage in reference to the Slavery Question. All they have to do is to have a prudent reference to public opinion; and the absence of any "platform" on the subject of slavery, facilitates this accommodating policy. In one section, their action is Pro-Slavery; in another, Anti-Slavery; in another, simply Anti-Administration, or Non-Committal.

Let us recapitulate:

Mr. Benton, the only Republican from Missouri, who cherishes the Anti-Slavery doctrines of Mr. Jefferson, and had the courage to speak and vote against the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, ascribes his defeat to the Know-Nothings; and the *American Organ*, just established at Washington, as the National organ of the new Party, says:

"The final political demolition of Thomas H. Benton (credited by himself to the votes of the Know-Nothings) was a triumph, of which our Missouri friends may be justly proud, and upon which we congratulate the American Party throughout the land!"

Do the twenty thousand Free Soilers who voted with the Know-Nothings in Massachusetts respond to this?

Mr. Mott, the pro-Nebraska candidate of the pro-slavery Administration Party in Pennsylvania, for Canal Commissioner, is elected by an unprecedented majority. Do the Free Soil Know-Nothings feel proud of this result?

In New York, they put up a Silver Gray Fillmore Whig, with the express view of defeating Clark and Seward. We have the testimony of the New York *Express* that the nomination would not have been made had Clark and Raymond remained on the Whig Syracuse platform, which, we all know, was non-committal as to any practical action. The probability is, that the movement has resulted in the defeat of Clark,* and in the election of a Liquor and Nebraska candidate. What said the New York Know-Nothing *Standard*, while the indications were that Seward was prostrated? In New York, said that Journal, the work of the new party was "to rebuke the higher law, woollyism, and all other isms not compatible with the just rights of the People, and therefore, especially, Sewardism, and it was nobly done." Mark, Sewardism, not as a representative of Whigery, or Monopoly, or the Commercial Interest, but as the representative of "the higher law," and Anti-Slavery sentiment, is to be put down. This is the mission of Know-Nothingism in New York, according to the *Standard*. Are our Free Soil friends prepared to sustain it in such a "mission"?

Hear, too, how the *Richmond* (Va.) *Examiner*, a paper which advocates slavery and the slave trade on principle, as necessary to high civilization, approves of the Know-Nothing policy in New York:

"Now as to the result. First of all, let us congratulate the country upon the annihilation of Seward. Scott's defeat stripped him of half his strength, paralyzed one-half of his body, and disfigured the arch-agitator. To the surprise of everybody, that extraordinary, invisible, incomprehensible body, the Know-Nothings, finished the work which Pierce began.

"They throttled Seward with the most extraordinary ease and grace, and left him, dead, mangled, lying high and dry above the lowest possible ebb of ill-luck, upon the political pottersfield of New York. The *Tribune* and its compatriots are now howling a wild and horrible dirge over the remains of their martyr. We do not fancy the Know-Nothings, but all honour to them for having crushed to the earth, and trampled under their feet, the boldest and most unprincipled fanatic that ever endangered the peace of a great Republic."

Strange times these, when Fillmore Whigs, Dickinson Democrats, Slavery Propagandists, and Free Soilers, can unite in a common Hallelujah!

From the acts of the Party, let us turn to the declaration of their "organs." The New York *Know-Nothing Standard* says:

"Under these circumstances, but one course is left. The American organization is not a local institution—it extends East, West, North and South—and an *entire repudiation of everything like Abolitionism* was necessary to preserve its integrity and unity. *This independent nomination, therefore, is a guarantee to our Southern friends* that, whatever the parties of the North may do, the patriotism of the masses knows no distinction between North and South. Whether Mr. Ullmann and his associates on the American ticket are to be elected or not, we feel convinced that the men of real principle attached to the American organization in this State will vote for them, and thus exhibit their complete alienation from all party corruptions."

The *Nashville* (Tenn.) *Whig* copies this, with the following prefatory remarks, showing the favour the new order is beginning to find among slaveholders, fearful as they are of all *secret* movements:

"The leading sentiment understood to be professed by the 'Know-Nothings' or 'American' party, and corroborated by many of the results of their organization, must, in its legitimate operation, lead them to oppose every sectionalism at war with the peace and prosperity of the *Federal Union*; a peculiar devotion to the perpetuity and true glory of the Union being the apparently recognised basis of their existence as a party. It may be that, in some localities, incidental or other causes have combined to place them for the time in a position of seeming cooperation with men unsound as national politicians. But the general correctness of their assumed national conservatism as a party is sustained by the laboured assaults upon Know-Nothingism, in the New York *Tribune* and the Washington *New Era*, specially devoted to the propagation of Abolitionism and its kindred heresies; and we find a further proof of the essential hostility of the Know-Nothings in New York towards the Abolitionists in the following explicit declarations of the Know-Nothing *Standard* of that city."

The New Orleans (La.) *Creole* reprints the same extract, finding in it a sweet odour of Nationality. It remarks:

"Nothing more satisfactory than this could be presented to those who love the Union and defend the Constitution. In the present disorganization of the political elements, it is impossible to say what may be the result of the important election which took place yesterday; but of one thing we may rest assured, that whatever may be the result, the American party is decidedly in the organization, its principles and its action."

The *American Organ*, the National paper of the Party, is no less explicit. After committing itself in its prospectus "against the agitation of the question of slavery in Congress or out of it," it proclaims, in the first editorial of its first number, opposition to "all 'higher law' doctrines by which the Constitution is to be set at naught, violated, or disregarded"—thus giving currency to the slang misrepresentation of anti-slavery men so fashionable among pro-slavery politicians. Referring in another number to the project of a Constitutional Party, started by the obsolete George M. Dallas, it inquires:

"Is it possible these politicians have not yet discovered that the people have themselves already *formed, and raised into eminence, a new Conservative party?*

"Have not these politicians heard from the Northwest, from the North, and from the East? Do they not know that in New York the 'American party' is composed of sound conservative elements entirely? Do they not know that the 'Hards' and the 'Silver Grays' compose the American party in that State? Do they not know that in Massachusetts the *Whigs*, the *Democrats* and the *Free Soilers each* ran a candidate for Governor, and that the 'American party' took up an *independent conservative Union man* for Governor, and elected him by a vote far exceeding all the votes cast for the three other parties? Do they not know that the American party in the 'Old Bay State' is a pure *national* party?"

Have Wilson, Burlingame, Knapp, De Witt, Banks, &c., become "nationalized" according to the ideas of this organ of their party?

Again: "Our friends," says this organ, "have never yet refused to vote for a Democratic '*Hard*,' or a 'Silver Gray' Whig, whenever such a candidate has adopted our principles. The election of Mott in Pennsylvania, and Hinks in Baltimore, are only two out of many instances in which Democrats have been sustained and elected by the votes of our friends."

Is it true, then, that our Free Soil friends, who are swallowed up in Know-Nothingism, will vote for Fillmore or Clayton, for the Presidency, provided they be sound Native Americans?

Our Union-saving "organ" grows enthusiastic as it proceeds. The efforts of Webster, Fillmore, and the Compromisers of 1850, to save the Union, are rivalled by what the Know-Nothings have accomplished in this line.

"William H. Seward and his allies," it says, "are now, we trust, *impotent* for mischief. The 'American party' has, in this single year, by its conservative influence, *done more for the preservation of the Union than has been done in the last twenty years, saving and excepting the patriotic efforts of the Union party in* 1850, whose labours had been rendered *naught* by the blundering follies of this Administration. It is our firm belief that *both Bentonism and Sewardism are now crushed*, and that, if the patriotic portions of the people continue to rally around our standard, we shall form a *conservative, Union-loving* and *liberty-preserving party*, whose *power* will arrest the machinations of demagogues, and render the *Union perpetual.*"

According to this, our Free Soil friends have been entrapped into an Organization, whose great mission it is to exterminate Bentonism and Sewardism, to revive the Compromises of 1850, and deify their authors. Was it for this Mr. Fillmore performed his tour to the South, a year ago?

Again, the *American Organ* brings authorities to sustain its pro-slavery position:

"The New York correspondent of the Baltimore *Sun*, over the signature of 'Ion,' and under date November 10th, makes the following truthful and important communication, published in the *Sun* of Saturday last, to wit:

"'The Know-Nothings are a national party, and will not enter into the Seward crusade against slavery. They would probably, had they known their strength, have secured a larger vote in the western counties, and have elected Ullmann. So far from disbanding, they are taking measures for the extension of their organization in the interior of the State, and are confident of being able to control both State and city elections hereafter. They will probably make a repeal or modification of the naturalization laws a test question in future elections, and particularly in the Presidential election.

"'The Anti-Slavery movement in this State has been checked by this election, though it does not demonstrate any partiality for the Nebraska bill. In fact, that question was overshadowed by the more pressing issues between the various parties to the liquor question—*i. e.*, "bad liquor, good liquor, and no liquor." Both the Temperance question and Know-Nothingism exerted more influence upon the result than did the Nebraska question.'

"It is true, *strictly true*, as stated by the Baltimore *Sun's* intelligent correspondent, that '*the Know-Nothings are a* NATIONAL PARTY, *and will not enter into the Seward crusade against slavery.*'

"It is true, also, *strictly true*, that '*the Anti-Slavery movement in New York has been checked*' by the late demonstrations."

Where is the Know-Nothing Press that speaks for Liberty, that utters an indignant protest against Slavery Propagandism, that protests against these doctrines and designs thus boldly attributed to the Know-Nothing organization, by its authorized organs? We know of none.

Now, when an organization, embracing in its membership Slaveholders and non-Slaveholders, Slavery Propagandists and Free Soilers, Hards and Silver Grays, Fillmore, Clayton, Pollock, Wilson, and Burlingame, undertakes to plan its National operations, and select its National candidates, what will be done? Shall the candidates be Anti-Slavery or Pro-Slavery—for the Fugitive Act or against it—for the division of California or against it—for Cuba with slavery or against it—for the existence of slavery within Federal jurisdiction or against it? All these Questions are of vital importance—the People have made up their minds on them, *pro* or *con*—no man could be selected as a Presidential candidate whose opinions are not decided respecting them. Would the Virginia Know-Nothings or the Massachusetts Know-Nothings be willing to take a candidate on trust, without understanding his position? Would the former consent to vote for Pollock, or the latter for Clayton or Fillmore?

(Let us say to our anti-slavery friends, who have either joined the Know-Nothings or voted for their candidates—*this new organization is beginning to be looked to by the South, especially by Southern Whigs, as the only basis for what they call a "National Party"*—that is, a Party which, ignoring the Question of Slavery, will permit its policy on that Question to be silently determined by Southern management. The *Semi-Weekly Creole*, of New Orleans, speaks confidently on this point. Referring to the prostration of the old parties, and the indications of an approaching sectional conflict, it looks to the Know-Nothings to prevent this evil)

"It seems to be universally acknowledged," it says, "that the 'Know-Nothings' aim to preserve our institutions as delivered to them by the sainted heroes of '76. They are pledged to oppose all foreign influence, and to stand by the Union and the Constitution. It were impossible, then, to be a Know-Nothing and a Disunionist; it is a contradiction in terms to adhere to the new movement and ignore the Compromises of the Constitution, or resist the execution of the laws."

* * * * * * *

"If a point of union exists between the North and the South, we verily believe it to be with the order of Know-Nothings. If any body of men in the free States are disposed to support the laws and make no aggressions on the South, it is the American party, national in its name as in its principles. All others are sectional; all others have committed themselves by resolutions and acts, by votes at the ballot-box, in legislative halls and in popular assemblies. The leaders of all others, even Cass and Douglas and Benton, as well as Seward, at this moment justify their course by attempting to prove it hostile to the South, or based on principles of universal philanthropy.

"We see no danger to the Union. Our revelation from the fates is far different from that doleful prediction of the *Courier*. Our next election *will present a candidate for the Presidency not only national in his position, but American in his heart. The People will recognise the statesman and the patriot, and elevate him with greater unanimity than has been witnessed since the days of Washington.*"

In another number it reiterates these views:

"*We feel confident that the South has no tangible point of political union with any other party at the North except the Know-Nothings; that they occupy the only national ground.* The Silver Gray Whigs have been overslaughed by the adherents of Seward. The Nebraska Democrats claim this bill as a triumph over the South—a victory achieved for Freedom. The Free Soilers are open in their opposition to our constitutional rights, and the Democratic Hards are accused by the Free Soilers of having selected the same platform which they have adopted. With whom can the South act in the coming national elections? *Certainly only with those who are pledged to support the Constitution and the laws, to maintain the Union, knowing no North, no South, no East, no West.*

"With the facts we have adduced, it is a mockery of the good sense of the people to ask us to affiliate with either the Whigs or the Democrats of the North. There is neither patriotism nor prudence, honesty nor a devotion to the rights of the South, in seeking such alliances."

Concurrently with these declarations, we find John M. Clayton—the auxiliary of Senator Douglas in pushing through the Nebraska bill, although he declined to vote for it finally, because it did not come up to the standard of Non-Intervention—placing himself, in a public speech, delivered before the late election in Delaware, on Native American ground, advocating the Know-Nothings, and predicting the impossibility of any national union hereafter on Whig or Democratic ground. Speaking of the distinguished men belonging to the order, he remarked:

"I know not upon what authority it is stated *that the late President of the United States is a member of the Know-Nothing order.* But I do know that a great number of the most intelligent and patriotic men of this country have adopted the principles and joined the society of this secret party."

In relation to the main principles of the American Party, as he calls it, he announces:

"I will not," says he, "support for office a man who claims to be a Native American *unless he plants himself upon that platform.* If he seeks my vote, he must do it by professing my principles. He must not tell me that some other party besides the American party here has nominated him for the office. He must come out plainly, and say that he asks support on the principles of the Americans. If he asks the support of the American party, *he has no right to accept, without our consent, a nomination from another party*, professing principles which we, as Americans, have never adopted."

Referring to the excitement aroused at the North by the Nebraska bill, he says:

"Repose for the passions of men is required, to save us from ourselves. At this crisis, when, I think, there is far more real danger than has ever existed before (as the sequel will soon show), I rejoice that an American party is to be found in the country, around which I, and other men who think as I do, can rally. The Whig and Democratic parties having, in different sections of the Union, made the Slavery question a part of their respective creeds, are split into irreconcilable divisions, each about equally ultra in their views, and equally uncharitable in their abuse of each other. In one-third of this State a (so-called) Democratic ticket is run, upon which one-half the candidates are old and active Whigs. In another part of the State an effort has been made to get Whigs to serve on a Democratic ticket, but, I hear, without success. In other States, the division among the Whigs is such that it is quite impossible that another Whig National Convention can ever assemble again. And if another Democratic Convention should again make that effort, as it probably will, there can be no real, heart-felt concord in such a body. A party strong enough to sustain the Government in the trials to which it will inevitably soon be subjected ought to be a desideratum with every right-minded American statesman.

"An appeal to American national feeling for such a purpose ought not to be in vain; and I do not believe it will be in vain. In every State and in every section of this Union there is now an American party."

The repeal of the Missouri Compromise aroused the anti-slavery sentiment. The demand of the People of all the free States was for a fusion of parties, so that they might give a fair expression at the ballot-box of their hostility to the measure, and to the system of policy of which it was but one emanation. In all the States, except Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York and Massachusetts, the demand was complied with, and a Republican movement, so called, was the result, absorbing the Whig and Free Democratic Parties, and utterly prostrating the Administration Party. Every indication was fair for the formation of a political organization powerful enough to take possession of the Federal Government in 1856, and place it on the side of Freedom. But the Whigs in Massachusetts, New York and Pennsylvania stubbornly rejected the fusion movement: their leaders hoped to be able to absorb the Anti-Nebraska feeling, and make it tributary to the reinstitution of the Whig Party. Suddenly, as if by magic, we find a new Party, without any principles on the Question of Slavery, springing into life, determining the election in Pennsylvania, powerfully influencing it in New York, reducing the Whigs to a meager minority in both, and overwhelming all parties in Massachusetts!

For this result, the Whig leaders in those States must blame their own infatuation or selfish ambition. The fate of their party is sealed; and for this we have no tears to shed; had this been all, the country would not have suffered. But, their ill-judged policy, while subverting their own Party, gave power to another, which now threatens to check, if not paralyze, the Republican movement, and to afford one more opportunity for the Slave Power to triumph in the Presidential contest. If this country is to be afflicted with another Pro-Slavery President, it will have to thank the Know-Nothing Party—but that Party could not have reached its present power except through the infatuation and stubbornness of the Whig leaders in Pennsylvania, New York and Massachusetts.

What remains, now, for Anti-Slavery men, Whig, Democratic, Independent Democratic? Shall the Republican movement be abandoned? Shall the issue between native and foreign-born citizens be suffered to supersede the issue between Slavery and Freedom? Shall the Anti-Nebraska movement stop midway in its course, satisfied with having returned a small Anti-Nebraska majority to the next House of Representatives, careless as to whether the next President shall be Anti-Slavery or Pro-Slavery? Will those Anti-Slavery men who have united with the Know-Nothing Party, or voted for its candidates, continue their support to it, in the phase of "nationality," so called, it is now assuming under the influence of John M. Clayton and the Fillmore men of New York? There is danger ahead. Honest men should beware of being placed in a position, entangled by obligations, calculated to give rise to conflicting duties, to obscure their perception of right and wrong, to tempt them to compromise or postpone the application of vital principles. Who will give an authoritative answer to these questions—*How are Anti-Slavery and Pro-Slavery Know-Nothings to act together, in the selection of a Presidential candidate? And if a non-committal or Pro-Slavery candidate be selected by the vote of a majority, what will the Anti-Slavery minority do?*

THE NATIONAL KNOW-NOTHING COUNCIL IN CINCINNATI.—A very intelligent friend, writing to us, November 1st, says:

"So far as outsiders can learn anything of the indications, I confess it looks to me like the old Whig organization of 1847. It will not be pro-slavery, decidedly—it will not be anti-slavery. It will be neither, and both. It will eschew Free Soilism, it will eschew Nullification, it will glorify Union. Rayner, of North Carolina, and Garrett Davis, of Kentucky, are the leading spirits from the South, so far as I hear. One of them remarked, the other day, that it was the American Congress, whose decisions would be placed on the statute book by the Congress at Washington."

From the newspapers we learn that John M. Clayton is present, assisting by his counsels, and that the principal business is to choose a Grand Master of the Order. But the proceedings are veiled from the public eye. The Sovereign People will be graciously permitted to know what the edicts of this "American Congress" are when they shall have been placed on the statute book by their representatives in Washington. Messrs. Clayton, Fillmore, Rayner and Davis, will carry on the work of national legislation in secret, as the people would not trust them to do it openly. —*Ibid.*

A NEW TERRITORIAL BILL ON FOOT.

ANOTHER SCHEME TO EXTEND SLAVERY.

Near the close of the last session of Congress a bill was quietly reported by Robert Johnson, one of the Senators from Arkansas, and made the special order for the fifteenth of this month, which is likely to absorb in its importance all other questions that will come before that body. It was a bill for the organization of a new territory between the 34th and 37th degrees of latitude and the 94th and 100th degrees of longitude—a tract of about 43,000,000 of acres, lying between the Red river of Louisiana and the southern boundary of Kansas—to be called Neosho; and it is artfully provided that the whole shall be protected against any law excluding slave labour from its soil. We gather the features of the bill from the *Western Home Visitor*, an Ohio paper, which deserves the credit of having first directed public attention to this subject:

Senator Johnson proposes to organize the territory of Chelokee, including the country held by the Cherokees; of Muscogee, or the Creek and Seminole district; and of Chahta, including the cessions to the Choctaws and Chickasaws—three territories, to be controlled, as at present, by the Indians themselves, while the payment of salaries and other civil expenses is made a burthen upon the treasury of the United States.

Sec. 2 provides that "nothing in this act contained shall be so construed as to abrogate, change, alter or impair the constitution or laws, *or the customs or usages having the force of law*, of either of said nations of Indians," &c.

Sec. 3 authorizes a governor for four years, "who shall be elected by such free male citizens of said territories respectively as by the laws of said nations are or may be qualified voters therein," and who shall receive a salary of $2,000, with the right to appoint a secretary at a salary of $1,500.

Sec. 8 recognises the present legislative departments of the Cherokees, Creeks and Choctaws; extends their power "to all rightful subjects of legislation consistent with the Constitution of the United States and the provisions of this act"; and, in a subsequent section, the compensation of members is fixed at three dollars for a session of twenty days, and three dollars for each twenty miles of travel in going to and returning from the same, with an extra per diem of two dollars to presiding officers, and similar allowances to clerks, interpreters, &c., all to be a charge upon the United States.

Sec. 12 provides that "no white men, or other Indians, shall be allowed to settle or trespass on any of said lands, east of the one hundreth parallel of west longitude, *without the consent of the Legislature of the proper territory*, and in pursuance of laws by it enacted." By Sec. 17, "so much of the *now-existing laws of the State of Arkansas as defines and fixes the punishment of offences which, by such laws, amount to felony*" are extended over each of said three territories, besides the various laws of the United States, which are enumerated, and among which are "those now in force regulating trade and intercourse with the Indians," and the fugitive acts of 1793 and 1850.

Besides the local tribunals, a District Court of the United States is erected in each of the territories, with one Judge for the Chahta district, and a Judge for Cherokee and Muscogee, to be appointed by the President and Senate of the United States for a term of six years, and with salaries of $2,500 in the Chelokee and Muscogee district, and $2,000 in the Chahta district, each court to be officered and have the jurisdiction of other territorial courts, and its decisions to be in like manner subject to appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States; "but (as section 28 provides) in cases involving the question of title to slaves, such writs of error or appeals shall be allowed to and decided by the said Supreme Court, without regard to the value of the matter, property, or title, in controversy; and from any decision of either of said courts, or the judge of either, upon any writ of *habeas corpus* involving a question of personal freedom, a writ of error or appeal shall be allowed to said Supreme Court."

So much for the general features of the bill, including the legislative, executive and judicial organization of the respective territories. Among the miscellaneous provisions is an appropriation by Congress of $10,000 to each of said territories, to be therein applied, by the respective governors, to the erection of suitable buildings for the accommodation of the Legislature and of said District Court and its officers, and the officers of the executive department—a stipulation (Sec. 35) "that all the free citizens of the said several nations, to wit, the Cherokees, Creeks, Seminoles, Choctaws and Chickasaws, resident, or hereafter coming into and settling in said territories, being of Indian or Indian and white blood, shall, when this act takes effect as to each nation respectively, *become and be citizens of the United States*; and the Constitution of the United States shall have the same force and effect within the said territories as elsewhere within the United States"—and also a provision that each territory may be represented in Congress by a delegate.

These territorial Legislatures are "required (Sec. 43) to enact proper laws regulating the institution of mar

produced no effect. They were like the claws of a cat when hidden beneath the velvet of her foot. He sought to bring out the anti-slavery sentiment of the country into action and make it show its claws: aye, and use them too. Until this should be done, no effectual check could be interposed against the startling advances of the slave power.

Mr. Phillips said that the North had tried all the various modes of opposition to the slaveholders without success. The reason was plain. One hundred and fifty thousand aristocrats held property in slaves to the amount of $2,000,000,000. They were men of leisure and intelligence, and, having control of the Government with $70,000,000 to expend per annum, and which was so bestowed as to counteract every effort against slavery, it was plain that no ordinary means would avail. But if we could enlist the religious sentiment of the country, we might still prevail. That sentiment stood out against Popery, against tyranny of every description in England, and at last brought revolution. It will do the same thing here.

But it was said that the pulpit was against us; that the religion on which we had a right to depend to forward so good a work was stolid or asleep. To this he replied that the church must be converted. The pulpit, under the voluntary system, was the mouth-piece of the pews: the pews employed the minister, and the minister graduated his teachings to the tone of the pews. We must, therefore, bring an outside pressure to bear on the church; we must get the pews right and we shall have no trouble with the pulpit. The same thing was true of the politician. He was the creature of his constituents. But he had found that he could sell himself out to the South and still retain his standing at the North. We must teach him that this can no longer be done.

When Mat. Ward was acquitted by a corrupt jury for the murder of a Yankee schoolmaster, he was held, nevertheless, to be a murderer; was scoffed at in Kentucky, in Ohio, and wherever he appeared, till he was obliged to seek refuge in a foreign country. In the same way John Quincy Adams, when he left the old Federal party in 1808 and went over to the Jeffersonian administration, was spewed out by the people of Massachusetts, and for several years no man took him by the hand. If we would make the war waged on slavery successful, we must have a public opinion equally faithful and effective. We must teach the minions of slavery that they are trampling on the religious feelings of the people, and that, when they betray their constituents, they must expect to meet an indignant public sentiment as hot as Milton represented the pavement of Hell.—*Evening Chronicle.*

AN IMPORTANT PUBLICATION.

A South Side View of Prostitution; or, Three Months in the Brothels of Boston, in 1854. By Rev. Nehemiah Eves, D.D. pp. 214. 12mo. Stereotyped and published by Theophilus M. Raven, Boston.

The fanatics have had their way upon this subject long enough; and we are happy to present to our readers the following abstract of a truly conservative view of it, premising only that, however suspicious the title of this book may seem, to those who are seeking to subject all our institutions to the destructive process of what they call *reform*, its contents will present nothing incongruous with the well-known piety and "eminent gravity" of either the author or the publisher.

Dr. Eves (for many years past a popular orthodox preacher of the Sexes Street Church in Boston), being called, by sufficient reasons, to spend three months in the society (favoured indeed with the hospitality) of the brothel-keepers of that city, felt moved to write a statement of his impressions respecting those people and their "young ladies,"* which should not only remove or diminish the "ill-fame" which has somehow fastened itself upon them, but which should relieve the minds of those good people who are distressed about the prevalence of prostitution.

Having been misled by the publications of "Moral Reform" Societies, and especially by the writings of Mrs. Harriet Beachmore, Dr. Eves anticipated a severe shock to his sensibilities in this visit. He expected to see the *operatives* wretched, ragged, vulgar and dirty; but of one thing he felt *sure*, namely, that the whole of them would be openly and grossly lascivious: and he supposed himself to have "at least the average amount of information and ignorance with regard to the subject." Imagine, then, his surprise and gratification at the following circumstances, occurring at his earliest opportunities of observation of these people:

"As two of them noticed my interested looks at them, one whispered covertly to the other, and both smiled with a kindly look; they were all in good humour, and some of them in a broad laugh; they were not so wretched as I expected; they were superior in genteel appearance to workpeople of any other class in our cities; a better-looking, happier, more courteous set of people I have never seen; their language, even when speaking of objectionable things, was decorous and refined; it conflicted with my notions of prostitution; I could not have dreamed that these girls had been 'degraded,' 'their very womanhood crushed out of them,' &c., as common report has so often asserted; and when I asked, in amazement—Are they prostitutes? Certainly, said the friend at my side; they each belong to some house of ill-fame."

It was evident to Dr. Eves that he had been greatly misled by preconceived opinions in relation to this class of people, yet he prudently remembered that these might be unusually favourable specimens, and kept his eyes open for further observation. But this, when it came, gave new causes of pleased astonishment. He found special "good order" in the streets where the fashionable brothels were kept, and admired the wisdom that closed the blinds, and otherwise cared for the external quietness and respectability of those houses.

He found that there was not so much time exacted for the duties of their peculiar occupation as many suppose; that a strong public feeling among the frequenters of those places protects the persons of their inmates against annoyances and injuries; that one man cannot with impunity abuse another man's favourite; and that the disposition to avenge such wrongs "amounts in many cases to a chivalric feeling." He tells us that, by the employment of extra constables and policemen in their haunts, this whole class of our population are "in a condition most favourable to preservation from crimes against society"; that girls who are indisposed to work of other kinds are saved by this system from "pauperism," and that many quietly pursue their regular occupation here, who would otherwise be a charge upon the public in the "house of correction."

On the point of "Religious instruction," the results of Dr. Eve's inquiries were eminently gratifying; for, though it was true (to a certain extent) that the brothel-keepers did not like to have Bibles lying about indiscriminately in the rooms, and did not teach the girls to read, and excluded tract-distributors and others who wished to teach them "from motives of interference," they read the Bible to them themselves, selecting the appropriate patriarchal and other portions in the Old Testament, and the comforting declaration, "Neither do I condemn thee," in the New, and making comments adapted to their occupation and their stage of moral development. Moreover, it was found that the percentage of church-members among the girls in some of those houses was actually greater than that of either the keepers who managed or of the patrons who supported them.

The Doctor does ultimately find, however, some "revolting features" of prostitution. But, with that charity which hoppeth over all things objectionable (in the system which, on the whole, it chooses to defend), he tries hard to conquer his prejudices, suggests exculpatory circumstances, even in the chapters headed "Revolting features," sympathizes with the brothel-keepers as he enumerates the evils which "they themselves deplore," mourns over the difficulties they meet in giving a proper education to their own children, and gives this gentle rebuke to the opponents of the system: "Sometimes the demand seems to be that illicit connections should be prevented at all events, and prostitution never be permitted. This is absurd, upon the least reflection. Let us not require too much in this matter. We must not be prejudiced by our associations with the word seduction. Let us not insist that female virtue shall *never* be sacrificed. This would be a most disastrous event to the whole sex; they would be debased without measure, if this idea were acted on."

Of course, a clergyman does not leave such a subject without bringing the instructions of Scripture to bear upon it. Dr. Eves finds prostitution *regulated* in both the Old and New Testaments, but not forbidden in either. He quotes numerous passages, and concludes that, whatever may, at the first glance, look like prohibition of it, refers to the abuses, and not to the relation itself.

Coming, finally, to the inquiry what (if anything) is to be *done* in relation to prostitution, by those who are now entirely unconnected with it, he answers, distinctly and decidedly, Nothing. He informs us that brothel-keepers are the natural and proper protectors of prostitutes; that, having been long familiar with their habits and characters, *they* know best what should be done for them, and will of course do it, if not interfered with; that their earnest desire and prayer, in relation to this whole business, is "to be let alone"; and he feels entire confidence that, if this moderate request be granted, they will do all that is necessary in the premises; that is, prune off the abuses, and preserve the beneficent and scriptural *relation*. On the important subject of religious instruction, he feels confident that they are the best judges of what truth is needed, and what can be borne, by their inmates (doubtless, milk rather than strong meat, and in most cases, probably skimmed milk); he found many of the girls fond of singing, and possessing most sweet and melodious voices; true, he did not happen to hear among them any of the songs of Zion; but no liberal were the ideas of their keepers, that he feels no doubt permission might be obtained for some reliable person to attend and teach these, during the intervals of their occupation; and any minister in whom the keepers could feel *perfect confidence*, might give religious instruction there, part of every Sabbath.

Formerly, Dr. Eves tells us, the keepers and patrons of these houses had become so weary of the system as to have commenced, of their own accord, a course of measures for its removal. Tired already of the expense and trouble of keeping large families of these girls, more expense and trouble were constantly required to catch them when they ran away, and the parties above mentioned were just on the point of deciding to throw up the system altogether, when, hearing that some of their neighbours perfectly agreed with them in opinion, and wondered that they hadn't made such a move before, they flew into a rage, reversed their decision, and swore that they would die sooner than give up the expenses and troubles in question. Dr. Eves now assures us that this is their fixed and unalterable position; that the more any one wishes them to change their ground, the more they won't; and that, therefore, the more we object to the idea and the practice of prostitution, the more we must say nothing and do nothing against it. In fact, in relation to this subject, as to slavery and some other matters, the only mode of effecting anything is to *do nothing*. C. K. W.

—*Liberator.*

* On seeing these girls "in their Sabbath attire," the Doctor understood what before was not explained, namely, why, in private conversation, their employers preferred to mention them by this name, or some other of inoffensive import, instead of using the coarser term which prejudiced people employ.

Hurrah for Both Sides!—Mr. Bancroft, in his late address before the New York Historical Society, expresses himself in the following terms:

"Were Aristotle and Plato to come back to our earth, they would find no contrast more complete than between the workshops of Athens and those of New York. At Athens the slave practised the mechanic arts; nor did it occur to the pupils of the Academy that the world could do its work except by the use of slaves. But here, labour is dignified and ennobled, as it deserves, and has a right to be; the mechanic, in his freedom, knows how to command the powers of nature by rendering filial obedience to her laws; his desire of success in his occupation, whether in the shipyard or the ironworks, or wherever else he is found, compels him to be the diligent and honest investigator of truth; at his daily toil he stands face to face with the laws of creation; so that it may be said of him that, like Enoch, 'he walks with God.'

"The fifty years which we celebrate have taken mighty strides towards the abolition of servitude. Prussia, in the hour of its sufferings and its greatest calamities, renovated its existence, partly by the establishment of schools, and partly by changing its serfs into a proprietary peasantry. In Hungary, the attempt towards preserving the nationality of the Magyars may have failed, but the last vestiges of bondage have been effaced, and the holders of the plough have become the owners of themselves and its soil."

Is it not a little odd that while thus mindful of Prussia and the Magyars, *the* American historian should not have a single word of commendation for the abolition of slavery in New York, New Jersey, the West Indies, and the efforts making to abolish it throughout the United States? Read on and you will see why.

The above paragraph is thrown out to those of anti-slavery inclinations. Further along, the slaveholders come in for their share.

"The good time is coming when the spirit of humanity will recognise all members of its family as more equally entitled to its care; when the heartless jargon of over-production in the midst of want will end in a better science of distribution; when man will dwell with man as with his brother; when political institutions will rest on the basis of equality and freedom.

"*But this result must come from the development of internal life by universal culture; it cannot be created by the force of exterior philanthropy, and still less by the reckless violence of men whose desperate audacity would employ terror as a means to ride on the whirlwind of civil war.*"

This is very characteristic of Mr. Bancroft, who always contrives to agree with and to flatter every sect, party and opinion, except when the adherents of it are too few or too unpopular to make it worth while to court their favour. Whether in politics, philosophy or religion, Mr. Bancroft is indeed a true, thorough and consistent disciple of the Vicar of Bray school.—*Boston Telegraph.*

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

Without Concealment—Without Compromise.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, DEC. 9, 1854.

BORN TOO LATE.

Some men are born into the world an age or two too soon, some men a generation or more too late. Either circumstance is a great calamity to all concerned. Thoughtfully considered, the real misfortune of Napoleon's life seems to have been that it occurred in the nineteenth instead of the ninth century. The career of military conquest and glory which his ambition proposed required an immense consumption of human lives, directly and principally of Frenchmen, but incidentally, too, of Austrians and Russians. Now, in the ninth century these Frenchmen, Austrians and Russians would have been of no account at all. It would have been their business to be killed in any numbers, if the exigencies of kingcraft and the balance of power required it. But in the nineteenth century all these men, so many husbands, fathers and sons, have, themselves and their relatives, a very distinct idea of their consequence; besides, they are, or might be, all more or less skilful farmers, weavers, miners, mechanics, and in these capacities are of some value to society. Then, too, many of them have some knowledge of government and human rights, can actually read newspapers and military bulletins, and have their own private purposes and ambitions to live for. It is clear enough that there must be to such folk a thousand inconveniences in the way of being taken out upon Borodino, or Wagram or Waterloo fields, and being shot dead—that they would rather not. So, at last, it being so late in the world, they did get tired of their part of the programme. It became a bore to them, and no more than three million Europeans were chivalric and loyal enough to be butchered for the private ends of Napoleon and other rulers. So the whole Napoleonic game came to an end prematurely for want of men, and for five years the Emperor, Bertrand, Montholon and Las Casas discuss at Longwood the causes of the disaster, without guessing that the whole thing was behind the times, and should have been tried a century or two before.

In our times, and on a very much smaller scale, Gen. Cass is one of those dilatory persons overtaken and swamped by the inrushing tide of time. Like the Mr. Tucker mentioned in the popular song, he is too late when supper is ready. He is the man left standing, hot and anxious, with his carpet-bag, upon the margin of the wharf, while the steamboat has just cast off, and is beyond the most venturesome leap. He is behindhand in his private enterprises, behindhand in his ideas. For twenty years, he has been trying to be President; submitting, of course, to all the misadventures and delays which that crooked path of ambition is necessarily subject to; and now he might possibly be the next nominee of the Baltimore Convention, when, alas! interposes the Psalmist's invidious limit of three score and ten, and puts him upon other thoughts and other preparations. But the ideas of the "Great Michigander" are more out of date than his aspirations. Unfortunately for him, and all like him, he has survived the period when the Sphinx of Anti-Slavery appeared upon the arena of American politics to propound her terrible riddle of national destiny, and expose the delusions of a mere verbal and pretended democracy. "Why," no doubt he gloomily inquires, "why could not this imposture have lasted out my day? Accursed be the impious eyes that detected and exposed it."

Surely, it well behooves all who house themselves in delusions, and clothe themselves with shams, to lay in what stock of "*praise and pudding*" they can, while those treacherous materials hold together. Gen. Cass has devoted his life to the business of fomenting and intensifying party animosities, destitute of all philosophic basis in principle, to the work of limiting the whole range of popular thought and political effort to the narrow cant of a school of demagogues, to whom, as he confesses they are to himself, "*words are things.*" More than any other man he has sought to divert the attention of the nation from the serious questions involving all the higher ideas of government, by digging up effete national prejudices, and by rekindling the rancour of forgotten wars. He has tried to confirm us in our national pride, our love of violence and our dishonest acquisitiveness. He has never had a true statesman's perception of our dangers. In his day, and under his eyes, a bold, unscrupulous and cruel oligarchy has insidiously invaded the government, and, by its far-reaching terrorism, made it, and, through it, the people, an accomplice and instrument of carrying on the most stupendous conspiracies against liberty and the rights of man. The Annexation of Texas, the Dismemberment of Mexico, the abrogation of the Missouri Compromise, were all measures forced upon the country by the united Slave Power, for the sole purpose of extending and continuing the damnable practice of slaveholding, and Gen. Cass was sufficiently in the confidence of the plotters of these measures to know it. The solicitude of patriots, the universal fear of all just men, in reference to these measures, he affects to regard as an irrelevant fanaticism. Lost in the excitement of the juggle of *democracy*, with which he has been trying, for twenty years, to dupe votes from the people, he feigns or forgets that there are any questions before the nation other than those which were agitated when Mr. Jefferson was first made President. Though, in a half a century, not only the standard of taste and literature, and the usages of social life, have changed and changed again, but even the absolute principles of religion have become so far modified that the Presbyterianism of 1850 is different from the Presbyterianism of 1800, yet such men as Gen. Cass would have us believe that questions of politics, from their very nature most fluctuating and evanescent, are precisely the same as those which divided parties in 1798. So he has continued to mouth the old cant of "Popular Rights," "State Sovereignty," "Strict Construction of the Constitution," until, in the changes of time, the phrases have come to be the property of one party, and the things signified have slipped away to the other.

While one Northern State after another is pouring in its emphatic condemnation of the Nebraska outrage, while the "all-shaking thunder" of political indignation seems to

> "Strike flat the thick rotundity of the world,"

it is really tragic to see the Michigan politician standing, like old Lear, in the tempest and crying:

> "I tax not you, ye elements, with unkindness,
> You owe me no subscription; why then let fall
> Your horrible pleasure: here I stand, your slave,
> A poor, infirm, weak and despis'd old man."

It is the ungrateful South, whom he had stripped himself to serve, who has just been paying him a small instalment of the same characteristic ingratitude that broke Webster's heart, in 1852. Truly, the encouragement to *half-and-half* men and *trimmers* is but small in these days, but it is hard for poor Gen. Cass, defending slaveholding aggressions upon the only grounds they could be defended upon at the North, to receive this fatal stab. Cannot those turbulent overseers keep in their choleric temper from very policy? How can the North be deceived and governed but by the influence of its great men? How can great men be manufactured if they are not allowed to hold office? How can they hold office if they are not elected? How can they get elected unless they can accommodate their opinions to the whim of the voters? Does not the *Richmond Enquirer* man understand that the knot of doughfaces in the Senate, the very body-guard of American slavery, have, once in six years, to submit to the formality of an election; that even so great a statesman as Gen. Cass has no *ex officio* perpetuity of his place, but must yield to the same degradation, with a Phelps or a Pettit; or does the overbearing editor believe that the approbation of the South is ample credential to a seat in the Senate? When the Michigan Senator got elected before, he had just published a letter expressing his regret at the defeat of the Wilmot Proviso, and his determination to have voted for it. In these piping anti-Nebraska times, it was certainly the extreme of illiberality not to permit the old gentleman to humbug to his heart's content with his patent plan of excluding slavery from Nebraska by "*squatter sovereignty.*"

Gen. Cass resents the interference, but not sarcastically or bitterly. He saves all his spent sarcasm for the Abolitionists and "*strong-minded women,*" whose only fault is that they agree with him that "slavery is a great civil, social and political evil." To his old confederates and patrons of the South he is indignant indeed, but still deferential and respectful. He thinks he is treated unkindly, ungratefully; he is sorry he has been misunderstood, but bows meekly to the unmerited censure. With a magnanimity almost Christian, he goes to work, in the face of Southern rebuke and Northern contempt, caught up and echoed now by the voices of a million free voters, to reconstruct his chimerical contrivance of *squatter sovereignty.* *Sotto voce* he had told his constituents that the Nebraska bill was a measure effectually to keep slavery out of the Territories. The Michigan election shows how well they believed him. The united sagacity of Southern politicians has laboured to accomplish this legislation with the avowed object of taking slavery into Nebraska, and yet Gen. Cass pretends that his object, and that of his associates in the Senate, was to prevent the further extension of slavery! With an impudence and effrontery only equalled by the presumptuous sophistries with which the Nebraska villany has been urged upon Northern people, Cass, Douglas & Co. assume all the preventive steps which the opponents of their scheme have been obliged to resort to to prevent its otherwise inevitable effects, as a part of their thunder, the very thing they had in view in proposing the abrogation of the Missouri Compromise. When, after the introduction of the bill into the Senate, last Spring, press and forum and pulpit broke out in eloquent protest against it, these arrant tricksters began to exclaim, "*There! you see how useless was this 'invidious geographical line.'*" When Northern Abolitionists raised a fund and equipped a little army of emigrants to confront upon the spot the pro-slavery machinations of Atchison and Pierce, all the Nebraska organs and orators, with all the honesty of Mephistophiles in their faces, avowed that *they had always believed the whole question of slavery was perfectly safe with the people of the Territories!* All this is just as plausible as it would be for an incendiary, who had thrown a lighted match, at midnight, into a barrel of shavings in his neighbour's house, to vindicate his good intentions by saying: "I have no doubt that this man's brother, who lives a half mile off, will wake up, and see the blaze, and come over here and put this fire out, before the first child's hair is singed."

Rev. T. W. Higginson and Martin Stowell, of Worcester, have been accorded the honour of an indictment in the United States District Court, at Boston, upon the charge of attempting the rescue of Anthony Burns. We should like to ask our whilom friend Hallett if he is going to permit Wendell Phillips to go unscathed? If so, we fear that incendiary gentleman will consider himself slighted.

NEW YORK ANTI-SLAVERY LECTURES.

Hon. Joshua R. Giddings delivered the Second Lecture of the New York Anti-Slavery Society's Course, at the Tabernacle, on Tuesday evening. The venerable speaker was enthusiastically welcomed by a large and intelligent assembly, most of whom saw and heard him on this occasion for the first time. The Secretary of the Society, in introducing him, said: "We read that an ancient worthy lighted his lamp and went in diligent, anxious quest of an honest man. In like manner have the friends of freedom explored the country to find that *rara avis*, a Northern politician with a backbone. I am happy to say that their search has been rewarded with success, and that the very man for whom they have so long and so anxiously sought is now in our midst. Ladies and gentlemen, I have the honour of introducing to you the Hon. Joshua R. Giddings, of Ohio." As the venerable and imposing form of Mr. G. became visible to the audience, there burst forth a tempest of applause, which showed how hearty was the appreciation of his character and services. After an unaffected acknowledgement of the kindness of his reception, he announced as the subject of his discourse, *The Trial and Triumph of John Quincy Adams, in the United States House of Representatives, in* 1842. The occasion of the arraignment of the "old man eloquent," it will be remembered, was the presentation of a petition for the peaceable Dissolution of the Union. Mr. Giddings gave a minute and deeply interesting sketch of the exciting scenes attending the trial, of which he was an eye-witness. He described the overbearing insolence of the slaveholders and the truckling subserviency of the doughfaces, and showed the steps by which Mr. Adams proceeded through his masterly and triumphant defence, turning the tables upon his foes and utterly defeating and routing them.

We hope Mr. Giddings may be induced to write out a complete and authentic history of the scenes he thus rapidly sketched. The reports of the daily press are quite brief, but we shall probably publish that of the *Tribune*, which is by far the best that we have seen.

Hon John P. Hale, who occupied a seat upon the platform during the Lecture, was called for at the close by so many earnest voices that he was constrained to come forward and address the meeting. He spoke briefly, but with great earnestness, carrying the audience to a high pitch of enthusiasm.

The next Lecture will be delivered by the Rev. Antoinette L. Brown, whose subject will be, *The Influence of Slavery upon Woman, and Woman's Duty in relation thereto.*

CONGRESS.

This body assembled on Monday. Mr. Atchison having resigned the office of President of the Senate, Mr. Bright, of Indiana, was chosen in his place. (This appointment is understood to be very distasteful to President Pierce.) In the House, on Tuesday, the Know-Nothing crusade was announced by notices of bills to modify or repeal the naturalization laws, to keep persons of foreign birth out of the army and navy, and to prevent the immigration of foreign paupers. Mr. Sollers, of Maryland, introduced a resolution calling upon the President for information as to the Ostend Diplomatic Conference. Mr. S. disclaimed any intention of striking at the Administration in its present weakness and helplessness; though he loved it not, he was full of compassion. But curiosity was agog all over the country to know what the Ostend Conference was for. Everybody wanted light, and the information was necessary to silence disagreeable rumours. Mr. Bayly said the resolution was premature; and, even if such a meeting had taken place, there was nothing alarming in it. It was part of the instructions of our foreign Ministers to frequently communicate with one another in writing; hence, where was the impropriety of their meeting at some convenient place, to talk over matters in an easy strain of conversation. A long debate, involving the propriety of the call, then ensued, in which much feeling against sending foreign-born citizens to represent this country abroad was manifested. The tone of the debate was decidedly adverse to the appointment of Mr. Soulé in particular. The House refused to refer the resolution to the Committe on Foreign Relations, by a vote of 84 to 83, and the question of its passage was pending at the time of adjournment.

Our Southern Correspondent.—The letters of our travelling friend, "John Ball, Jr.," are exciting, as we expected they would, the attention of our Southern exchanges. His suggestion of bowie-knives, pistols, and pocket-compasses, startles the patriarchs, who know, well enough, that such implements, if put in the hands of their contented servants, would be the signal of a flight like that of the Israelites from Egypt. But "the wicked flee when no man pursueth." The well-founded apprehension of what a sky-high explosion a single spark might bring about in the Magazine in which our southern neighbours choose to dwell, makes them tremble and cower at the sight even of a shooting star.

The New Orleans *Picayune* calls attention to these letters, and attributes them to an agent of the American Anti-Slavery Society. It is worth while to correct this error. Mr. "John Ball, Jr." is simply a correspondent of this paper whose careful observations, and truthful delineations of society at the South, in all its phases, are both valuable and interesting, and as such we are glad to lay them before our readers. They understand, if our Southern exchanges do not, or will not, that Mr. Ball represents nobody but himself, and that he, by no means, intends to fix upon the Society any responsibility for his advice or suggestions.

But whether his plan for the Abolition of Slavery is a good one or not, its suggestion alone is excellent if only for this—that it is an admirable test of the soundness of the everlasting boast of the South, of the safety and excellence of their peculiar institution. If it were what they claim it is, they would laugh in the face, and snap their fingers at "John Ball, Jr."; as it is not, they would hang him on the first tree—if they could catch him—for hinting to a slave the use of a pocket-compass. Of course, then, we are glad to see the New Orleans *Picayune*—one of the most moderate of the Southern pro-slavery journals—respond to this touchstone. Here is what that paper says of the letters:

"This diary purports to be a record of the sayings and doings of the writer, as an agent of the American Anti-Slavery Society, in carrying on the work of helping off runaway slaves from the South to the North, by providing them with money, pistols, bowie-knives and pocket-compasses. According to his own account, in September last, when this portion of the diary was written, he was pursuing this laudable occupation in the State of North Carolina, and records some of his experiences while doing so. Some of them are very suggestive, and may not prove uninteresting to the Southern reader. We have not the space at command to give them in detail, but will endeavour to embody one of them in a condensed shape.

"He says he was taking a walk in the woods, and suddenly came upon the regular road. A coloured man, driving a horse and wagon, was approaching, I accosted him, says Mr. Ball, and got into the wagon, and we soon began to talk about slavery.

"He said that he would run the risk of capture if he had a compass or had a friend to direct him to the North. Ignorance of the way, he said, was the chief obstacle in preventing the slaves in this district from escaping to the North. Dozens were ready to fly.

"Soon after, meeting with a slave driving a wagon, he accosted him and had a long conversation with him, a portion of which we give in the diarist's own words."

The *Picayune* here copies an account of one of the reported conversations of Ball with a slave, on the subject of running away in general, and the use of a pocket-compass in particular—we wonder, by the bye, our correspondent has not, in the absence of compasses, taught his friends the position of the Polar Star—which we need not repeat, and the paper then proceeds:

"The writer goes on to say that if he had a good stock of pocket-compasses and revolving pistols, he would not leave the State until he had liberated at least one hundred slaves. Already, he says, he has spoken to great numbers of them—negroes and mulattoes—resolute and bold men, who are ready to fly, if they but knew the route, and had the means of defending themselves from pursuit; and, he adds, that if he could for one year command the resources of the Anti-Slavery Society, he could make the most formidable emancipation society that the world ever saw.

"This enterprising gentleman then proceeds to counsel the Northern Abolitionists to agitate by circulating tracts, papers, lectures, and personal appeals; by forming a secret society to operate within the slave States, especially in the work of first tempting, and then assisting, slaves to run away. He would have, he says, in every free border town and village an underground railroad in active operation. 'Appoint,' says he, 'a small band of bold, but cautious men, to travel in the most Northern slave States, for the purpose of securing the cooperation of the free coloured population in assisting fugitives; of disseminating discontent among the slaves themselves, and providing the most energetic of them who wish to escape with pocket-compasses, pistols, and directions. Such agents must be consummate men of the world—"wise as serpents," though formidable as lions!'

"Ten or twelve such apostles, Mr. Ball thinks, in one year, could induce six or seven thousand slaves to fly to the North; of which, if they were properly equipped, at least five thousand would escape forever.

"There are many ways, adds the writer of this precious diary, of enabling fugitive slaves to escape rapidly, and by a direct route, for the Free States, which these agents could employ; but which, of course, must be kept a secret from the slaveholders; and so confident is he of the practicability of this plan, that he offers to carry it into effect in the spring of 1855, if the Anti-Slavery Society, or any wealthy Abolitionist, will provide him with stock. 'I will give,' says he, 'all that I have to give—for silver and gold have I none—*my time, for three months.* I am certain that at least seven-eigths of the pistols, compasses and dollars, I gave the slaves, would be surrendered to our agents in the free cities of the North.'

"This is the way Mr. Ball would operate. Perhaps the American Anti-Slavery Society had better accede to his patriotic suggestions, and set this *Ball* a rolling on its pious errand. If it did not prove the stone of Sisyphus before it had reached the end of its course, we have no skill in prophecy—not we."

ANTI-SLAVERY MEETINGS ON THE FIRST DAY OF THE WEEK.

Messrs. Editors: I have read with interest the letters on this subject in your valuable paper, and beg leave to offer a few thoughts relative thereto. While we refrain from invading any man's right of conscience in this matter, it may be well to interchange our views on the question, *What is that observance of the day which meets the Divine approval?* For the determination of such a question, several of the letters, very properly, in my opinion, appeal to the Gospel of Christianity, and to the cause of Jesus Christ on earth.

Although the inspired writers never apply the term *Sabbath* (which signifies *rest*, not *worship*) to the first day of the week, in the New Testament, it is not to be denied that Christians are imperatively commanded to assemble for the purpose of teaching and exhortation, in reference to the truth of the Gospel; and that, in fact, they did so assemble for this holy purpose and for the observance of other Christian ordinances; and that the time appointed for such duty was "the first day of the week" (Heb. 10: 25; Acts 2: 42,; 1st Cor., 14 chap.: 11, 2; Acts 20: 7). It is also evident that what the Apostles "delivered" to their Christian brethren, on this important subject, they "received of the Lord" Jesus (1 Cor. 11: 23; Matt. 28: 20).

It appears to me to be a common sense conclusion, that whatever interferes with our obedience to these Divine commands must be inappropriate to the day, especially if, as Mr. Pillsbury says, "more can (then) be done, and is done, to influence the public mind and heart than on all the other days of the week."

Without presuming to dictate to others, I must confess that, with all my abhorrence of American slavery, and assurance that it is as opposite to the glorious Gospel of the blessed God as darkness is opposite to light, or sin to holiness, if I should make it my common practice to assemble dying men on the first day of the week, *simply* to hear an anti-slavery lecture, I should consider it a dereliction of my duty. The duties connected with the first day of the week, according to the Scriptures quoted, are enjoined on *all* Christians, unless circumstances render an observance of them impracticable.

The Gospel of the Son of God (the preaching of which is the daily duty of every Christian, according to his ability) presents a wide field to open the battery of righteousness and love against American slavery and all its infernal concomitants. If any man, professing to preach this Gospel, does not plainly and pointedly lift up his voice like a trumpet against this abomination, he is unfaithful to his trust; nor will all the plausible excuses of expediency shield him from the displeasure of Him who hateth oppression.

A very important question, however, remains to be seriously considered. Is anti-slavery truth the most important truth which can be presented to the minds of dying and accountable men? Does the reception of it secure man's highest and most durable interests or well being? Mark, the question is not, whether or not Christianity necessarily involves anti-slavery, but whether or not anti-slavery necessarily involves Christianity? A dollar includes a cent, but a cent does not include a dollar. "The cause of Jesus Christ on earth" necessarily includes anti-slavery, on the principle that it is opposed to all unrighteousness. "The Son of God was manifested" for the high "purpose" of destroying "the works of the Devil." If slavery is not one of these works, in vain do we search to find any. But the cause of Jesus Christ on earth rises higher than this, as the heavens rise higher than the earth. Its glorious and comprehensive purpose is the emancipation of man from the dominion of all and every sin; and from the everlasting death to which all men, as transgressors of God's righteous law, are justly condemned. Its blessed object is to assimilate him to his Father in Heaven, preparatory to holy and happy communion with him in the revolving ages of eternity.

It is not to be denied, indeed, that American slavery wears an odious aspect, in respect to its bearings on the spiritual and eternal interests of dying and accountable men. It degrades the mind and the heart, and casts its murky clouds between the soul and the light imparted by gracious heaven to guide to eternal day. Yet, that celestial light can and does penetrate the dark cloud. Blessed be God, the gates of Paradise shall open to many Uncle Toms and redeemed Topsies, renovated by Omnipotent Love.

We should rejoice in every conversion to anti-slavery; but the anti-slavery lecturer should remember that *conversion to anti-slavery is not conversion to God.* His converted audience may still be "dead in trespasses and sins." He may have cast out *one* demon, while others remain to rage. It is the holy truth of the Gospel, requiring "repentance *towards God*, and faith towards the Lord Jesus Christ," received into the inner man, which casts out the "*legion.*" I ask, then, has not this truth the first and highest claim for manifestation, on the day which presents the most favourable opportunity for teaching dying and accountable men that which pertains to their best interests, both in the life that now is and in that which is to come?

The Northern anti-slavery man who is still worshipping at the shrine of mammon has little cause to glory over the unrighteous slaveholder of the South. God abhorreth both the covetous and the oppressor. They have both received the mark of the beast, and, except they repent, must go together into perdition. Anti-slavery sentiment, desirable as it is for humanity's sake, will not cancel the sin of seeking "the honour which cometh from men," rather than "that which cometh from the alone God." It will not change "the carnal mind," which "is enmity against God." Voltaire, Thomas Paine, David Hume, Collins, &c., who, certainly, were not Christians, were all anti-slavery men.

May we not then conclude that, while anti-slavery teaching, as one item of the violation of the law of love and righteousness of fearful magnitude, has an appropriate place in the preaching of the Gospel on the first day of the week, and at other times also, it is not *the paramount* truth of the Gospel of Salvation. It is not *necessarily* either "repentance towards God" or "faith towards our Lord Jesus Christ," though, in some cases, it may flow from these holy principles.

All which is respectfully submitted by your affectionate friend, Henry Grew.

SOUTHERN NOTES FOR NORTHERN CIRCULATION.

Liberty Lodge, Slave States, November.

I *am* suspected here of being a lover of Liberty; and therefore—and as I have an innate aversion to a costume of feathers—I am preparing to fly to another State. Under these circumstances, you must pardon the sins of rhetoric, of which, in my present communication, I shall most probably be guilty.

IV.....A Ghost; or, the Haunted Cabin.

"Haunted!" said I; "do people here really believe in Ghosts?"

"Yes, there are thousands, both in this State (S. C.) and Georgia, who believe in them as firmly as they believe in anything. The old-time people all believe in them."

"And this cabin was haunted, you say?"

The cabin referred to stood in a lonely field westward of Charleston.

"It got that reputation for years," resumed my companion. "Nobody would go near it, night or day. On dark nights, people who rode along the highway, near the cabin, reported that they saw it. Hundreds saw it. I believed it myself. I'd as lief have gone into a rattle snake's nest as into that field after dark."

"Is it still haunted?" I asked.

"No," said my companion, "not now—he was found out."

"Who?"

"Why, the ghost."

"How?"

"Why, you see, there is a drunken sort of fellow lives not far off—and when he's on a spree, he does n't care a fig for anything. He's a regular dare devil. Well; one night he determined to go a ghost-hunting. He had a horse that was a very singular beast: it would stand still if he fell off, or go home if he was too drunk to guide it—which was often the case. Well, he rides up to the field, and sure enough there was the ghost."

"What was it like?" I asked.

"He said it was like a body, as white as a corpse, but without either head, arms or legs."

"Was he not frightened?"

"He said he would have been frightened to death if he had n't been so drunk, that he would as lief have met the devil as not. Well, his horse reared. He spurred it—but it was no use. It would n't go one step further, although the ghost was not a rod from his head."

"What did he do then?"

"Oh, he brought a lick at the ghost with his whip. The lash rested on it. Now, then, said he, I was sure it was something more natr'l than it got credit for being—because, you see, if it had been a ghost, the lash would have gone through it. As soon as the whip touched the ghost, it went backwards to the door of the cabin. He spurred his horse. It was no use again—it would n't go a step; so he got off and tied her to a post, and then rushed at the ghost, whip in hand. As he came at it, it kept going back and back, till at last it got inside the cabin and was beginning to shut the door, when —— —— gave another lick at it and then rushed forward and seized hold of it?"

"What was it?" said I, without pausing to *space* my words; for the narrative had greatly interested me.

"What do you think?" said the Carolinian; "he! he! he! he! What d'ye think?"

"Not knowing, can't say. What was it?"

"Ha! ha! ha! O L—d! do you—he! he!—give it up?"

"Yes, yes—what was it?"

"He! he! he!—it was a strong buck nigger, who had runaway from his boss in Georgia, four years before, and had lived there ever since. He was as black as coal, and every night used to walk about in his shirt-tail and frighten the folks round about out of their five senses."

"But how did he live?" I inquired.

"Oh; he stole at night. —— —— made him strike up a light in the cabin, and he found it half full of provisions."

V.....Southern Audacity of Assertion.

One of the most remarkable characteristics of conversation at the South is the audacity with which falsehoods are advanced as undeniable facts, when the subject of slavery is discussed. That the negroes are perfectly satisfied with slavery; that the blacks of the North are the most miserable of human beings; that all slaves are happy and all free Africans are wretched—these ridiculously false assertions are far more earnestly believed in by the "public" of the South than the "self-evident" truths of the Declaration are believed by the most enthusiastic of European Democrats. From Wisconsin to Florida, I have found men who laughed at Jefferson's dogmas; but, in the sea-board Southern States, I have yet to meet the man who believes that the condition of the Northern Negroes is superior to the condition of slaves of the South.

In a recent conversation with a party of Southern gentlemen, I emphatically denied—first, that the slaves were contented with bondage, and, secondly, that their condition was enviable when compared with that of their Northern brethren. My denial was received with a simultaneous shout of derision and laughter by every person in the company.

"What privileges have they at the North that they have not here?"

I did not deem it expedient to utter a crushing reply that was struggling for exit from my brain, but I ventured to answer—

"Well—there's the privilege of acquiring knowledge, for example. They can learn to read at the North."

"I guess," said one, "*there's very few niggers in this State who can't read!!!!*"

"I don't believe one-tenth of them can't read!!" said another.

This conversation was held in Georgia.

"They are *not* contented: I know it from themselves," I added, rather incautiously.

"Oh! h—," said one sensual-eyed fellow, "I know better than that. I've seen niggers that ran away from here to the North, at New York, and they offered to work for me all their lives

census has yet been taken to serve as a basis of representation, and that there is no fit place in which to hold a legislative session. This has greatly disappointed and offended the pro-slavery party, who fear that the postponement will lead to their defeat. They denounce the Governor in the severest terms. The slaveholders will not yield without a desperate struggle, and we shall not be surprised if they win a victory. These efforts to prevent the *extension* of slavery, by men who propose not to molest it where it already exists, must end in disappointment. The doctrine of "No Union with Slaveholders"—no *toleration* of slavery *anywhere*—is our only hope of salvation; and the sooner the North is brought to this conviction, the better will it be for her and for the cause of freedom.

From our Boston Correspondent.

NO. CLVIII.

THE ARGUMENT.—The Correspondent on Thanksgiving—He is seditious and blasphemeth the Constitution—And yet is just—He telleth of the Election and the devouring of all the parties—He Speaketh evil of Municipal Dignities—He showeth by a type the differing malignity of Abolition attacks—Paddyphobia—Theodore Parker's cause of Thanksgiving—His rhetorical relations past and future with Judge Curtis—The Opinion of the Atlas—The Correspondent enlighteneth it—He speaketh well of the new Editor thereof, &c., &c., &c.

BOSTON, Dec. 4, 1854.

WELL, Thanksgiving is over and gone for this year. It is a good old Puritan festival, and one that should be kept up. We have some things left to be thankful for, in spite of the dirty machine worked by Cat-o'-Nine-Tails Power, which we call the United States Government. The principal thing we have to be thankful for, as to that, is, that it is so little felt by those of us who live in remote States, in our common life. It is only when there is a great Hunt on foot, with a Man for game, and we are called upon by the whippers-in to join the pack and help pull him down, that we feel how utterly our manhood is crushed under the wheels of that nasty Juggernaut. To be sure, it does steal from us part of the value of almost everything we buy in the markets, to support its own wickedness; but, that is managed so as to keep its pickers and stealers out of sight; and as the Government only picks our pockets, instead of clapping a pistol to our breasts, telling us to stand and deliver, we don't mind that so much. It is always present, to be sure; but, like other devils, it is generally invisible. As far as the United States Government has any force, it is the worst in the world. Let us be thankful that it has no more than it has, and that, just now, before Judge Curtis has succeeded in gagging us, we can say what we like about it. Even the most despotic Governments cannot rob their subjects of the privilege of hating them. Let us be grateful that we can have the added relief of cursing ours, and that openly. And here ends my Thanksgiving Discourse.

I wrote you last on the very day of our State Election. Though "I foresaw," like Sir Robert Bramble, in the play, the general result, even my prescience did not take in its astonishing particulars. The Know-Nothing candidate, a man almost unknown out of his street or his Ward a month before, elected by more than Thirty Thousand clear majority, and by Fifty Thousand more than Governor Washburn, the Whig incumbent! And the Whig and Democratic parties absolutely annihilated and wiped out, as with a wet Sponge! The Whigs had refused any union with the Free Soilers and such Democrats as were against the Nebraska Swindle, believing themselves strong enough to keep possession of what small Spoils Massachusetts had to distribute, the State Officers and the Senator and the Eleven Members of Congress. And six weeks ago there seemed to be no apparent reason why they might not. And, now, they have never claimed more than six representatives in our General Court, and that half-dozen has, I believe, been ciphered down to *One*, giving one Whig, one Democrat and one Free Soiler to tell the story! For the Free Soilers have been devoured up even like unto their adversaries and have gone to feed fat the new Party. But, inasmuch as their own Candidate for Governor officiated as Carver in Chief, and as many of its leading men ran about with aprons on and napkins over their arms, serving up the *disjecta membra*, or slices, as fast as they could be cut off, it is not so much to be wondered at. I believe neither Gov. Washburn nor Judge Bishop (the Democratic candidate) volunteered this service for their followers.

Don't you think, in view of this magnificent ending of the Free Soil Party in this State, that we Garrisonians made a fatal mistake in refusing to join them? Only think, we might have had the satisfaction of choosing a Webster Whig of 1850–1 Governor, and, probably, of reëlecting Doctor Smith, who, with his Apothecary, General Edmands, saved the Union last Spring, by his heroic practice, as Mayor! To be sure, his practice was pronounced, as that of an ingenious class of practitioners with whom his unfriends have sometimes ranked him has been before, to have been illegal, by competent judicial authority; but that only enhances the degree of his merits, by his readiness to sacrifice the laws of the State and the lives of his constituents (as Dr. Dewey, his son or brother, if not his mother), that the Union might be saved by the offering up of poor Burns. One cannot help respecting a man as he deserves, and, I should think, the Free Soilers who are assmilating into the substance of the new party, after their comfortable deglutition, would enjoy the position and be as proud of it as the *Almanach des Gourmands* says the Strasburgh geese are, after roasting alive at a slow fire, at the thoughts of the Perigord pies their livers are to make. All this on the supposition that the new party does nominate Dr. Smith for reëlection, as it is said they mean to do. If they do, it will be meant, and so understood, as a public proclamation that the Know-Nothings have no taint of Anti-Slavery about them, not even of the mitigated Free Soil type, which is to Garrisonianism what Varioloid is to the Confluent Small Pox. They are determined to let it be seen and known of all men, that they are only infected with the *Paddyphobia*, a very prevalent complaint, but believed by the best doctors to be merely cutaneous. Isn't it curious to see how, the moment a party thinks it has a chance at the Presidency, it begins to assure the Slaveholders that they are to be depended on?

While on the subject of Thanksgiving, I forgot to mention, though you have seen it often enough, the new cause of gratitude the Rev. Theodore Parker had to acknowledge on that day of praise. He duly returned thanks for the blessing of his arrest and indictment for his Faneuil Hall Speech. I suppose he could hardly have taken Paul's words for a text, "I would ye were even as I am, except these bonds"; for I suppose he would have been equally thankful for any of his congregation who had been put under the same bonds with himself. Should any such good luck befall any of them (which, it is said, is not impossible), they should put up a Note the next Sunday, as their parents did on an important event in their own early lives, and "return thanks for Mercies Received." When the case comes on for trial, Mr. Justice Curtis will probably have to hear what Mr. Parker has to say for himself—which he declined doing at the famous Compromise Meeting in Faneuil Hall, when he read his title clear to his place on the Bench. You remember, he stated, with a commentary, something Mr. Parker had said, and asked, "I should like to know what the Reverend Gentleman would have to say to this!" The Reverend gentleman hereupon arose in the gallery and asked "if Mr. Curtis would like to hear what he had to say then?" Nothing could be further from his wishes, if the lines of his face spoke the truth, and Mr. Parker was hooted down. I apprehend that, this time, Judge Curtis will have to hear what he has to say.

Some of the Whig papers have been expressing their sense of the folly of this proceeding on the part of Judge Curtis and Attorney Hallett, in view of its uselessness. I confess I was surprised to see any wonder expressed by the *Atlas*, which has had an infusion of new blood lately, and is one of the spiciest papers now going, on this subject. If the *Atlas* really can see no reason why these patriotic men should thus wish to signalize their devotion to their country, we would intimate to it that there is an office under our glorious Constitution called the Chief Justiceship, and, moreover, that the incumbent thereof is well stricken in years, and like soon to do one of those rarest of things—die or resign. It is the natural object of ambition to every aspiring lawyer, and especially to one that already has the vantage ground of the Bench. There is but one power that decides these great judicial appointments, and that power must be coaxed and gamed over. It is very true that Judge Curtis is too able a man ever to be trusted in that place, and that the Slaveholders would sooner appoint Mr. Hallett than him. Not that this last worthy looks in that direction, for there are a greater plenty of dirty puddings for such dogs as he (not scornful in the least) at Washington than in Boston. We pray the *Atlas* to put on its spectacles—though we think there are things that might be seen with the naked eye. The new editor of the *Atlas* is the Mr. Congdon, of New Bedford, of whom I had lately to complain because of his assaults on my *protégé* Commissioner Curtis. Notwithstanding this grudge, I must own that he has improved the *Atlas* very much by the freshness, wit and spirit he has put into the concern.

D. Y.

From our Cincinnati Correspondent.

The Grape culture in the West—First attempts at Vevay—The Germans in Missouri—Success of N. Longworth in Cincinnati—Statistics of the Wine business in its vicinity—Growth and prosperity of this trade.

CINCINNATI, Dec. 1, 1854.

THE cultivation of the grape and the manufacture of wine in the West, especially near the shores of the Ohio River, has become a business of some magnitude and importance. Cincinnati and its immediate vicinity has taken the precedence in the grape culture, a fact which must be attributed to the attention bestowed upon it by several active members of the Cincinnati Horticultural Society, but especially to the untiring exertions of Mr. N. Longworth, who, after a series of careful experiments, and some sacrifices, ascertained the Catawba grape to be the kind best suited to our soil and climate. Mr. R. Buchanan, Mr. V. H. Yeatman, Messrs. Bogen, Corneau & Son, and others, have also been engaged in the grape culture for several years, and the result is, the business has reached a point of importance and interest that our most sanguine cultivators could scarcely have predicted a few years since. Our market is the best and largest native wine dépôt in the United States; indeed, but few persons abroad are aware of the extent of the business, or of the value of land and labour employed in it. A few authentic facts and statistics, touching the subject, will, therefore, be of interest to your readers.

Some twenty-five or thirty years ago, the Swiss Colonists who settled at Vevay, sixty miles below this city, went largely into the vine culture, but failed for want of that enterprise, originality and perseverance which mark the Western character. Adhering to the mode of culture common for ages in Europe, they were prevented, by reverence for the traditions of their ancestors, from depending in their new settlement chiefly upon observation, experiment and experience—all necessary for success in a new climate and new soil. Their vineyards have been almost entirely abandoned, while Americans are pushing on the vine culture with fine prospects, and have already equalled the wine-makers of Europe in the quality of their wines.

Since the culture of the vine was begun by Mr. Longworth, a number of Germans, from the wine districts of their native land, settled on the Missouri River, finding the soil poor, and corn, wheat and tobacco yielding poor returns, turned their attention to the vine, and procured, in 1845, from this place, 24,000 cuttings of the Catawba. They have had most encouraging success, and at a meeting of the wine-growers at St. Louis, last year, the samples sent in to compete for the prizes were numerous, and decided to be very fine. This year the meeting was held (in August) at Herman, Missouri, in the wine-growing district. At this fair, a number of premiums were awarded, and wine exhibited pronounced by judges to be of the best qualities. The whole amount of land in grape culture near Herman is 473 acres.

The native wines, which were in use but a few years ago, were mostly sour, acrid, or bitter, owing to the general deficient knowledge of the culture and fostering of the grape vine, and to the imperfect care taken of the juice itself. Mr. Longworth, by careful management, changed this sour and unpalatable wine into a sweet, agreeable and sparkling wine, and introduced it in its natural, raised and stilled state in our market—a difficulty he had to contend with for some time, as the exported wine generally commenced fermenting again in the bottles, became thick and forced out the corks. The still wine produced from the Catawba grape, or, in other words, the simple fermented juice, without the addition of sugar, alcohol or water, is the most delicate and pleasant wine that can be drunk. It is claimed by Mr. L. that his wines and those manufactured in this vicinity are either wholly (or nearly so) free from alcohol, and that, if the use of these pure, light wines, grown upon our own soil, were more freely encouraged it would have the effect of diminishing the traffic in common distilled and manufactured liquors, and promoting temperance.

The wine-growers of this city and vicinity have formed an association, which has been useful in diffusing information among the members on the subject and publishing statistics. From its investigations the following facts appear.

Within a circle of twenty miles around Cincinnati, about 1,200 acres are planted with the vine, some 800 acres of which were bearing in 1853, and produced on an average 400 gallons to the acre, making an aggregate of 320,000 gallons of wine. Some of the best vineyards yielded 600 to 800 gallons to the acre, but others, in localities where the "rot" prevailed, did not average over 150 gallons per acre. The estimated number of acres under culture in the Ohio Valley, from Maysville to Louisville (including this city), is 1,700. In the Mississippi Valley (at Herman and other places), 560 acres: making a total of 2,260 acres in the West devoted to raising the vine.

The Catawba is the favourite wine grape, and scarcely any other variety is planted here. It is a native of North Carolina, and was brought to the West by Mr. Longworth, 33 years ago. Of this grape, two kinds of wine are made—the *sparkling* and the *still* or dry wine. The first resembles Champagne, and to make it requires very deep, well-arched stone cellars, large casks of from 1,500 to 5,000 gallons—the supervision of an experienced wine-cooper from Europe—and a large outlay of capital. The *still* wines are generally the pure juice of the grape, without any admixture. The bottling requires but little art, and the wine will keep sound in any good, common cellar.

Mr. Longworth built, some years since, a wine cellar, 120 feet long, 40 feet wide and 40 deep. In this cellar the visitor may see at one time 75,000 bottles of sparkling Catawba, and about 40,000 gallons of wine, in casks varying from 40 to 500 gallons in each. Mr. L. has two other cellars and dépôts for his wines besides, always containing a large amount. In *all* the wine cellars of Cincinnati and its vicinity, eight in number, there were bottled, in 1853, 234,000 bottles, of which 151,000 were Mr. Longworth's. Estimated for 1854, 280,000 bottles. This is of the *sparkling* wines. Besides, there were, in 1853, 205,000 bottles of *still* wines, and will be more this year. Thus, it will be seen, there are about 500,000 bottles of wine put up this year in Cincinnati. What is not bottled is sold by the cask, in this city and elsewhere, generally within a year or two after it is made, at from $1 to $1.50 per gallon. So great has been the demand for these wines, it is difficult to find any *old* wines for sale. The consumption keeps pace with the production, and the prices, on the whole, are on the advance. The *new* wine sells at $1 to $1.10 for the best, 75 to 90 cents for second quality, and 40 to 50 cents per gallon for inferior. Much of this is sold to the South and West, and orders are filled from New York for Mr. L.'s wines, which have acquired a high celebrity all over the Union. It can be said that the manufacture of wine at this place does not keep up with the demand.

The vine culture, owing to the increased demand for wine, is spreading, and vineyards are now stretching up between this city and Portsmouth, on the hilly land on the river. In 1840, there were but 11,526 gallons of wine made in Ohio, of which two-thirds were made in the County of Richland, and only about 2,000 in the county of Hamilton. It will thus be seen that the vineyards of this neighbourhood are the creation of the last ten years. The wine interest in Hamilton County, it is estimated, affords subsistence now, directly or indirectly, to at least 2,000 persons.

The greatest evil the wine-dressers have to contend with is the "rot," which is generally supposed to be produced from an excess of water about the roots of the vine in any clay soil retentive of moisture; sandy soils, with a gravelly substratum, are generally exempt from this disease.

From the above facts, it is evident that the wine-growing interest is eventually to become one of great importance to the West. It has reached its present magnitude after more than thirty years have been devoted to it, and much labour and capital expended, but the results attained are *reliable* and point to its vast increase as reasonably to be expected. Mr. Longworth may justly be said to be the father of successful vineyard culture in the West. He took it up after others had failed, and, by means of his large capital, and untiring perseverance, after numerous experiments with foreign and native vines, he discovered the *true plan of cultivation* and manufacture, which has been generally adopted.

The effect of this business upon the Temperance cause, and the propriety of substituting our light wines for distilled liquors, are subjects for discussion, but I must reserve the consideration of them for my next letter.

The usual Winter Course of Lectures before the Young Men's Library Association begun, this week, with a Lecture by Hon. Horace Mann, on The British Empire; its wealth, resources and evils; and its benevolent enterprises. It was very able and instructive. Rev. Mr. Magoon, of New York, is to lecture in the Course, and there are to be four lectures by Bayard Taylor. Parke Godwin and Rev. John Pierpont are also among the lecturers secured.

The Pork trade is now in "full blast" here; hogs coming in daily in large quantities, and slaughtering and packing going on. The weather for some days has been cold and favourable for the business.

Yours truly, P.

Our Philadelphia Correspondence.

PHILADELPHIA, Dec. 4, 1854.

"AN administration, after all, must be judged by its works, not by the passion of the hour, or the peculiar new issues introduced at a popular election." Just so. The sentence I have quoted is the last in the latest letter of that "Observer" who favours the *Public Ledger* of this city with his nightly lucubrations. Personal histories *are* interesting. This individual is literally a Swiss, who, a few years ago, presented himself to a distinguished anti-slavery merchant of this city, offering his services for the sustentation of the "peculiar new issue" which you advocate—for a consideration, of course—and meeting with a refusal, entered his present more congenial sphere of action, where he is, no doubt, better paid in the coin he most values than he ever could have been in the service of the Abolitionists.

Now, I, for one, am quite content to judge the administration by its works, especially those which have become so unequivocally characteristic of it as the employment of foreign renegades to do its dirty work. The present minister to the two Sicilies is another example in point: a Scotchman, who commenced his career in this country, some years ago, as the special champion of the oppressed classes; and I must do him the justice to say that he did, at that time, include the slave in the list. Shortly after his election by "the Democratic party" of Indiana to a seat in the House of Representatives, I had occasion to forward to him, for presentation, several petitions, including one for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. These he refused even to present, and handed them over to Mr. Giddings. But a few years before, he had been employing his leisure hours in writing out, for publication, the oral narratives of a friend of his, who had, from the beginning, been closely connected with the underground railway; which narratives, I remember, he used to listen to with the utmost interest, frequently manifesting a sympathy perfectly enthusiastic with any adroit and successful effort to baffle the slave-hunter. Nothing could be more convincing proof that slavery has completely got the upper hand among us than such facts as these, dozens of which have occurred within the sphere of almost any one's observation. These people would, no doubt, be as willing to labour for an honourable cause as for one of an opposite character, if it could be made their interest to do so.

I spoke, in a recent letter, of the singular propensity to blowing hot and cold with the same breath, which the *Ledger* has lately displayed. In this morning's issue of that journal, I notice an editorial item in reference to the late indictment of Rev. Theodore Parker. Speaking of this gentleman's declaration that he considered the indictment the greatest honour ever conferred upon him by his fellow-men, the paragraphist makes this *very* American commentary: "A conviction might alter his opinion of the honour intended in the indictment of him." There are evidently two brains at work for the *Ledger*.

Our city papers have, quite generally I believe, during the past week, been publishing a letter from the author of the Declaration of Independence to "his daughter," apparently quite oblivious of the very valuable historical fact that he had *more* than one. Could you not find time to add to our current literature some account of that one who was publicly sold on the auction-stand at New Orleans, a few years ago? The information concerning the former proved highly interesting to the public; perhaps a contribution from your pen of the nature I propose would also contribute to the delectation of the body, and might be quite a feather in your cap.

Judge Wilmot and his friends have recently given the initiatory to the formation of a "Republican Party"—did you ever hear anything like it?—just as if every party in the country were not a republican party. The meeting at which this very singular and superfluous step was taken was held somewhere in Susquehanna County—the papers don't name the locality—and the delegates had the grace to pass, by an unanimous vote, the following resolution (among others), which heaven grant them back-bone to stand by:

"Resolved, That the principles upon which we stand are, first and primarily, decided, unswerving and uncompromising hostility to slavery extension, in whatever guise it may be presented. 2d. A modification or repeal of the Fugitive Slave law, so that full and entire preservation shall be given to the rights of the citizens of the Free States."

Things really do begin to look a little encouraging; but, then, we Abolitionists have so often experienced the vanity of all promises of better conduct on the part of that large class who are known by the name of "statesmen," that it is not surprising we should wait for *deeds* before pronouncing a decided opinion concerning movements of this kind. But the prospect is certainly better at this juncture than ever it was before; the tone of many of the local journals is decidedly higher than it has been during any previous compaign, and the Republican Party, supported by such newspapers as the *Independent Whig* at Lancaster, the *Herald* at Westchester, etc., etc., ought surely to accomplish something worthy of a party bearing the name.

POLITICS.

We believe the friends of Hon. William H. Seward feel pretty sure that he will be reëlected to the U. S. Senate, but his opponents will make a desperate fight, and we shall not be surprised if they succeed.

——It is stated that the friends of Thomas H. Benton have offered to unite with the Whigs to secure the defeat of Atchison, who wants to be reëlected to the U. S. Senate. Atchison's friends procured Benton's defeat by the same means, not long since; hence the effort to retaliate.

——Myron H. Clark's plurality for Governor, though not yet officially declared by the State canvassers, is ascertained, from the official returns of the several Counties, to be 319. If all the defective ballots are allowed, the result will not be changed. If the Maine Law can be carried through the Legislature, it will be sure, therefore, of executive approval.

——Hon. Henry A. Wise has, after a severe struggle, been nominated as the Democratic candidate for Governor of Virginia. He is the favourite of the *young* Democracy of that State, who are making an effort to free themselves from the shackles of the Dynasty which has so long ruled that State. It is doubtful, however, if he can be elected, as the Whigs and the Know-Nothings are expected to strike hands in opposing him.

——Among the prominent candidates for the United States Senate in Pennsylvania (to succeed Cooper) is the Hon. Thaddeus Stevens, late member of Congress from the Lancaster District. Intellectually he has few superiors in the State, while on the Slavery question he would stand on the same platform with Seward. We do not know how good are his chances of an election, but, as he has many enemies who are bitter as his friends are devoted, we are afraid he can't secure the requisite number of votes.

——Dr. J. V. C. Smith, present Mayor of Boston, has been nominated by the Know-Nothings for reëlection. We think this ought to solve all doubts as to the real character and designs of that secret cabal, so far at least as Boston is concerned. The course pursued by Dr. Smith in the Rendition of Anthony Burns shewed him to be a weak and unprincipled man; and if Boston shall reëlect him, she will thereby renewedly endorse the Fugitive Slave law and cover herself afresh with disgrace and infamy.

——The result of the Illinois Congressional election is truly gratifying. Three of the Anti-Nebraska Congressmen are reëlected, with three more of the same stripe, while but one Nebraskaite (Col. W. A. Richardson) is reëlected, who will be associated with but two others. It has been said that Col. Richardson (who was made to father the Nebraska abomination in the House) has been rechosen, in spite of the Nebraska bill, by the support he has given to river and harbour appropriations, while Douglas has opposed this great Western measure. The election of an Anti-Nebraska U. S. Senator is hardly doubtful.

——Hon. Henry Wilson is believed to have a good chance to be made a U. S. Senator from Massachusetts, to fill the vacancy occasioned by the resignation of Hon. Edward Everett. No bitterer pill than this could be administered to the Whigs, who have never forgiven him for leaving their party in 1848, and for getting up the Coalition by which their long supremacy in the State was effectually broken. There is some talk of putting forward, as a candidate against Mr. Wilson, the Hon. Nathaniel P. Banks, a Democratic member of Congress, for whom it is thought the Whigs would be willing to vote in order to secure the defeat of the man they so cordially hate. Mr. Wilson, if elected, will no doubt stand side by side with Mr. Sumner on all questions relating to slavery.

SLAVEHOLDERS IN THE UNITED STATES.

THE following table is from De Bow's Appendix to the last U. S. Census. It will be seen that the whole number of slaveholders in the United States is 347,525. Now, if we could only obtain a census of the Northern doughfaces, we should have a basis for some curious calculations.

CLASSIFICATION OF SLAVEHOLDERS IN THE UNITED STATES.

STATES, &c.	Total	Virginia	Texas	Tennessee	South Carolina	North Carolina	Mississippi	Maryland	Louisiana	Kentucky	Georgia	Florida	Delaware	District of Columbia	Arkansas	Alabama	
Holders of 1 slave.	68,820	11,385	7,616	3,492	1,202	4,825	3,640	1,226	6,143	4,015	6,464	699	382	1,383	5,204		
1 and under 5.	106,683	12,540	13,030	10,682	8,314	6,311	6,164	6,129	5,331	3,227	7,701	991	1,365	1,961	7,727		
5 and under 10.	80,765	13,030	8,314	6,311	6,129	5,331	3,227	1,365	7,701	5,572	6,490	1,961	7,727				
10 and under 20.	54,606	9,364	4,353	2,202	2,202	2,276	1,023	1,774	655	2,964	910	172	1,774	655	2,964		
20 and under 50.	29,738	4,889	1,479	1,107	919	1,107	487	392	255	1,107	487	392	919	255	1,107		
50 and under 100.	6,196	946	107	104	69	104	25	14	22	104	25	14	69	22	104		
100 and under 200.	1,479	187	19	19	8	19	2	3	3	19	2	3	8	3	19		
200 and under 300.	187	16	2	2	1	2				2			1		2		
300 and under 500.	96	8	1	1		1				1					1		
500 and under 1000.	9	2															
1,000 and under.	2																
Aggregate holders of slaves.	347,525	52,360	34,921	23,944	18,844	20,180	14,566	10,903	20,106	17,010	22,280	3,232	3,320	4,679	19,336		

REV. SAMUEL R. WARD.—We are not sure that we have informed our readers of the fact that this gentleman was so far caught napping as to yield to a request to second resolutions, before the Congregational Union of England, in support of the Eastern Missions of the American Board. A correspondent of the *Liberator* having commented ingdnantly upon this act of Mr. Ward, Mr. Chesson, the English correspondent of the *Wesleyan*, notices the matter as follows:

"No doubt Mr. Ward took a false step, and I should be one of the last persons to justify him in it. Knowing something of the circumstances connected with his seconding the resolution in question, I cannot but attribute his doing so rather to a momentary error of judgment than to any disposition to assist the American Board. Since he has been in this country, Ward has done not a little to enlighten the British Churches as to the corrupt state of the great religious organizations of your country; and I think that the recollection of this good which he has accomplished should blot out the remembrance of the one act that is, I must admit, very properly condemned. When a man retraces a false step, his error ought to be forgiven him. This, Ward has done. In a letter from him which recently appeared in the *Morning Advertiser*, he speaks the truth faithfully about the American Board. His original mistake ought now to be forgotten."

THE *Bradford* (Vt.) *Inquirer*, hgretofore under pro-slavery guidance, has passed into the hands of O. A. BOWE, a genuine son of the Green Mountains, who, after honourable service in the editorial profession in Herkimer Co., N. Y., and elsewhere, has concluded to go back to his native State, where we hope he may meet with the success due to his talents, experience and devotion to the cause of liberty. The *Inquirer* will support the Republican party, which, in Vermont, appears to have superseded the Whig organization, and to embrace nearly all the anti-slavery voters. This is not the type of anti-slavery which we deem orthodox, but it is a decided improvement on Silver Gray Whiggery, and may grow better in time.

WILLIAM WELLS BROWN proposes to deliver three Lectures, in St. Thomas's Church, Philadelphia, upon topics suggested by his residence in Europe, and which are particularly set forth in the advertisement, in another column, to which we would direct the particular attention of our readers in that city. Mr. Brown is no doubt possessed of much valuable information relating to those topics, and, as he is a pleasing and forcible speaker, he cannot fail to make his lectures interesting to such as may be able to hear them. We hope he may have full houses, and that he may be invited to give the same lectures in other places.

Summary.

"I cannot bear children," said Mrs. Prim, disdainfully. Mrs. Partington looked over her spectacles mildly before she replied—"perhaps if you could, you would like them better."

Speaking of Ida May, the Springfield *Republican* says: "By the way, we know who the authoress is, but we 'promised not to tell.' We rather think she was not born in Maine, or more than 20 miles from Springfield."

FROM LIQUOR TO LITERATURE.—"In the Texas market," says a correspondent, "the demand has suddenly changed from *Liquor* to *Literature*. Public Libraries and Reading Rooms are taking the place of Grog Shops and Billiard Saloons in this new and prosperous State."—*Puritan Recorder.*

PRICES OF NEGROES.—We learn from a gentleman who was present that, at the estate sale of Nathaniel Hough, deceased, on the 15th inst., the negroes, seventeen in number, sold for $10,550—being an average of $620. One fellow brought $1,010, one $1,025, and another $1,300; a negro woman and two children, $1,785.—*Lancaster (S. C.) Ledger.*

REASON FOR NOT DANCING.—At the close of a fair held by the Free Will Baptist Society in Manchester, N. H., after the evening's service, the pastor, Rev. Mr. Davis, was asked whether dancing would be allowed. His answer was no; for dancing did no good, it was a barbarous custom, and the first Baptist, of whom we have any account, *lost his head by dancing!* The audience were satisfied with the reason.

NEGROES ESCAPING.—The recent disappearance of several negroes from their owners in this city and vicinity leads to the inference that they escape by boats leaving James or York rivers. Officer Wilkinson gave chase, last week, to a suspected vessel, but failed to overtake it. He went as far as Newport News and returned. It would be well for all concerned to be on the look out.—*Rich. Enq.*

A TEXT FOR THE NEXT ELECTION SERMON.—A correspondent of the Boston *Courier* makes the following suggestion: "I ask leave to suggest to the reverend gentleman who is to preach the sermon before His Excellency the Governor and the General Court on the first Wednesday in January, a text for his discourse, which I think will be appropriate to the auditors. It is in Job, 8th chapter, 9th verse: 'For we are but of yesterday and *know nothing*.'"

Fred Douglass made a speech at Metropolitan Hall, Chicago, Ill., on the 30th Oct. The *Tribune* of that city mentions the following incident:

"As an instance of the effect produced by the speech, we may mention that, at its close, a gentleman from Kentucky came forward, grasped Mr. D. by the hand, and, with tears in his eyes, and a voice broken by his emotion, told him that although he (the Kentuckian) was a Southern man, and of Southern principles, he could not resist the conviction of the truth of Mr. Douglass's remarks, and that he had conquered him."

SLAVERY IN MINNESOTA.—We hear a rumour that a colony of Virginians talk of removing to Minnesota next spring, *with their slaves!* Under the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, what is there to hinder them from settling on the West side of the Mississippi in Minnesota? And what is still more revolting to the great majority of our people, the leaders of the administration in the Territory dare not oppose any such movement on the part of Virginians, or any other dealers in "human cattle." We are not so sure but some of them would encourage the heinous outrage.—*Minnesotian (St. Paul).*

HOUSE FOR WIDOWS.—A gentleman of Hartford, Conn., has erected in that city, a large brick building, which is called, the "House for Widows." It is divided into twelve distinct tenements, each containing a living room, bedroom, pantry, closets, water fixtures, a fuel closet in the cellar, and also a large basement for common use as a washroom, &c. Many of the tenements are already occupied. The tenements are charged with an annual rent of only ten dollars—just enough to pay insurance, taxes, and repairs, which is all the remuneration Mr. Beach asks.

THE NATIONAL FINANCES, according to Gen. Pierce's exhibit, stand thus:

Total Revenue for the last fiscal year,	$73,549,705
Expenditure except for Public Debt,	51,018,249
Payments on account of Public Debt,	24,336,380
Actual reduction of the Public Debt,	20,160,122
Balance in the Treasury, July 1, 1853,	21,942,892
Balance in the Treasury, July 1, 1854,	20,137,967
Actual amount of Public Debt, Nov. 20, 1854,	34,975,456
Estimated current expenditures for this year,	48,176,590
Estimated receipts for this year,	58,609,330

Leaving a large balance in the Treasury, except so far as it may be reduced by payments on account of principal of the Public Debt.

GOLD IN VERMONT.—A *bona fide* discovery of gold has recently been made in the south part of Stowe, about a mile from the northerly line of Waterbury. The *Freeman* says the discovery was made, as early as August last, by a returned Californian, while fishing in a brook. Having bought the farm, he made known his discovery, dug and washed out a small quantity from the banks, and permitted visitors to do the same, as a matter of curiosity. One panfull of earth produced 37 cents worth of gold. The owner thinks, from the few experiments he has made, that the diggings will prove as rich as the average of diggings in California. It is also stated that gold has been found also in the north part of the same town, by another returned Californian, on the stream coming from Mansfield mountain.

HONOUR.—Some men think it an honour to be D. D. ed. Some think it honourable to be kicked by a King, or despised by a rich man like Mr. Peabody of London. Some think it an honour to be in Congress. Some hold it honourable to know nothing. Some think it an honour to be puffed in a paper that sells its editorial columns for so much a line. Some esteem it honourable to be toasted by hiccuping drunkards. But Rev. Theodore Parker, who has been flattered with abundance of extravagant abuse before now, reckons it his chief honour to have been arraigned in the United States Court as implicated in the "Burns riot" at Boston last May. So at least he said in his late Thanksgiving Sermon. Happy state of affairs!—when Government prosecutes offenders for the love of it, and the prosecuted cheer on the officers—cherish their bonds as honorable, and, like Oliver, ask for "more."—*Daily Times.*

RAILROADS IN THE UNITED STATES.—The Buffalo *Democracy* says that there are now in progress, and likely to be completed, in the United States, over 12,000 miles of railroad. The estimate is exclusive entirely of roads only "proposed," embraces only those actually under way, and, in most cases, under contract throughout. The entire cost of these long lines of road will not be far from $350,000,000, of which amount the sum of $100,000,000, at least, is already provided for. There are some sixty roads included in this estimate, of which the longest is the Illinois Central, 804 miles, and the shortest is the Lebanon Valley, from Reading to Harrisburg, Pa., which is 53¼ miles in length. The highest grade is on the South Western Tennessee, and is of 90 feet to the mile, and the greatest amount of tunnelling is on the Alexandria, Loudon and Hampshire road, in Virginia, being 19,536 feet, or over three and a half miles.

ALIEN VOTERS.—In the United States Circuit Court, on Wednesday, Judge Curtis delivered an opinion in the case of Michael Cregg, petitioner for naturalization. He decided that the Police Court in Lynn was not such a court of record as to be authorized to take primary declarations of aliens, or to naturalize them; the application to this court was for final papers. The effect of the decision will be to require many persons to make their primary declarations anew. The decision is understood to differ in this from a decision of the Supreme Court of this State, that, while it is held by Judge Shaw that the Judge of a Police Court may act as his own clerk, and thus make his own court a court of record, as provided by the act of Congress, Judge Curtis holds that, to constitute a court of record in the meaning of the act, the court must have a clerk to make a record. This decision will affect some two thousand persons who have taken out their primary papers in the way which is now declared to be illegal.—*Boston Traveller.*

MORMON PRACTICE.—A strange development has just been made in Michigan. It seems that Strang, the leader of the Mormons who occupy Beaver Island, has been elected to the Michigan Legislature by the votes of his people, and that he has returned 605 majority for Bingham, the fusion candidate for Governor, while the entire Mormon vote has been cast for all the rest of the Democratic candidates, among them being Peck (Nebraska Democrat), for Congress, for whom he has returned 695 votes. There are but 340 houses on the island, in which it would be impossible to crowd all the population answering to such a vote, and it is believed that Strang, having everything his own way, has returned 450 illegal votes. He had a personal grudge against Barry, the Democratic candidate for Governor, and hence he returns but 45 votes for him. The Detroit *Tribune* says that it is more than suspected that there was no election at all on Beaver Island, and that Strang went through the farce by himself.

'TIS SAM, NOT SAMUEL.—In placing the name of General Houston at the head of our columns, as a candidate for the Presidency in 1856, subject only to the decision of the people, we made a trifling typographical error in the Christian or baptismal name of General Houston; which is Sam, instead of Samuel. We presume that people generally thought, as we did, that Sam was an American and vulgar abbreviation of the sacred name of Samuel—but this is not so. General Houston was christened after the Revolution, and when "Uncle Sam" was the substituted and common term used for "United States"; and his father, being one of the patriots, and in rather indigent circumstances, consulted both patriotism and economy and called his son Sam, after "Uncle Sam"; feeling himself too poor to give him a name with more than one syllable. His mother demurred to it at first, being a very pious Presbyterian, and having a great veneration for the name of Samuel, one of the old Prophets—but Sam early exhibiting some of the boyish sparks kindled and thrown off in the Revolution, she became reconciled to the short name of one syllable, and delighted to call him her darling Sam.—*America's Own.*

KIDNAPPERS ARRESTED.—The constable of Huntingdon township passed through this place on Thursday last, with his posse, in charge of two prisoners, committed to jail by Justice Shelton, of Aberdeen, on a charge of kidnapping a coloured woman from the neighbourhood of Sardinia, in this county.

We learn that, one night last week, some four or five men broke into the house of an old coloured woman, near Sardinia, and violently seized upon her daughter, Ann Robinson, and carried her off to Kentucky, crossing the river at Maysville. She was kept concealed two or three days in the neighbourhood of that city—being in the meantime removed from one house to another.

On Sunday night, she made her escape from a second story window of a house on the Lexington road, occupied by one Morrison. She fled to Maysville, and, by her representation of the facts, excited interest enough in her case to have two of the kidnappers, Lewis Young and Allen Young, arrested and imprisoned in that city. On being brought out of jail, as we are informed, on a writ of *habeas corpus*, they were taken by a number of citizens and carried across to Aberdeen. There a warrant was procured by W. H. Wadsworth, Esq., and they were taken before Justice Shelton for examination. After a laborious and protracted investigation, in which Messrs. Wadsworth and Hickman, of Maysville, appeared for the State, and Messrs. Stevenson and Payne, of the same city, and Lowry, of Aberdeen, for the defendants, the accused were required to give security for their appearance at Court to answer the charge of kidnapping. They were unable to find bail, and were committed to jail.—*Ripley (O.) Bee, 18th ult.*

RETURNING GOOD FOR EVIL—THE RESULT.—About three years ago, one of St. Louis's best known and most honourable citizens was awakened in the night by noises which convinced him that a robbery was in progress. He very cautiously crept to where the noise proceeded from, and in a few minutes discovered the depredator and overpowered him. On taking him to the light, he found him to be a young man, and evidently a novice in crime. On questioning him, and learning his history, his sympathies were excited by the distresses which induced him to attempt such a desperate game, and, instead of handing him over to the hands of

Miscellaneous Department.

MR. BRIGHT, M.P., AND THE WAR.

THE following correspondence has been handed to us [*Manchester Examiner*] for publication :

MANCHESTER, October 27, 1854.

DEAR SIR : In the few words which I exchanged with you in the street, a short time ago, you declared the present war to be one of the wickedest things that this country had ever engaged in. I believe those were your words, or, at least, to that effect. Now, as I have a sincere respect for your *well-considered* opinion, and as I have come to a very opposite conclusion, your dictum sent me to such books as I possess on the law of nations, especially to "Vattell"; and, oddly enough, I found that more than a quarter of a century ago I had consulted his pages as to the justice or otherwise of the *first crusade*. My reading has confirmed my first opinion ; and as Manchester will meet next Thursday, to commence a subscription for the widows and orphans of those who fall in the contest, and as the members for Manchester *ought* to be *there*, I shall be exceedingly pleased if you will then state the *conclusive reasons* for your condemnation of the war, and enable us to determine either to give it our hearty support or *then and there* to PETITION FOR PEACE.

Believe me to be, with esteem and respect, yours truly, ABSALOM WATKIN.

JOHN BRIGHT, Esq., M.P.

RHYL, North Wales, Oct. 20, 1854.

MY DEAR SIR : I think, on further consideration, you will perceive that the meeting on Thursday next would be a most improper occasion for a discussion as to the justice of the war. Just or unjust, the war is a fact, and the men whose lives are miserably thrown away in it have clearly a claim upon the country, and especially upon those who, by the expression of opinions favourable to the war, have made themselves responsible for it. I cannot, therefore, for a moment, appear to discourage the liberality of those who believe the war to be just, and whose utmost generosity, in my opinion, will but make a wretched return for the ruin they have brought upon hundreds of families.

With regard to the war itself, I am not surprised at the difference between your opinion and mine, if you decide a question of this nature by an appeal to "Vattell." The "law of nations" is not my law, and, at best, it is a code full of confusion and contradictions, having its foundation on custom, and not on a higher morality ; and on custom which has always been determined by the will of the strongest. It may be a question of some interest whether the first crusade was in accordance with the law and principle of "Vattell."; but whether the first crusade was just, and whether the policy of the crusaders was a wise policy, is a totally different question. I have no doubt that the American war was a just war according to the principles laid down by writers on the "law of nations," and yet no man in his senses in this country will now say that the policy of George III. towards the American colonies was a wise policy, or that war a righteous war. The French war, too, was doubtless just according to the same authorities ; for there were fears, and anticipated dangers to be combatted, and law and order to be sustained in Europe ; and yet few intelligent men now believe the French war to have been either necessary or just. You must excuse me if I refuse altogether to pin my faith upon "Vattell." There have been writers on international law who have attempted to show that private assissination and the poisoning of wells were justifiable in war ; and perhaps it would be difficult to demonstrate wherein these horrors differ from some of the practices which are now in vogue. I will not ask you to mould your opinion on these points by such writers, nor shall I submit my judgment to that of "Vattell."

The question of this present war is in two parts. First, was it necessary for us to interfere by arms in a dispute between the Russians and the Turks ? and secondly, having determined to interfere, under certain circumstances, why was not the whole question terminated when Russia accepted the Vienna note ? The seat of war is 3,000 miles away from us. We had not been attacked—not even insulted in any way. Two independent governments had a dispute, and we thrust ourselves into the quarrel. That there was some ground for the dispute is admitted by the four powers in the proposition of the Vienna note. But for the English minister at Constantinople, and the cabinet at home, the dispute would have settled itself, and the last note of Prince Menschikoff would have been accepted ; and no human being can point out any material difference between that note and the Vienna note, afterwards agreed upon and recommended by the governments of England, France, Austria and Prussia. But our government would not allow the dispute to be settled. Lord Stratford de Redcliffe held private interviews with the Sultan, did his utmost to alarm him, insisted on his rejection of all terms of accommodation with Russia, and promised him the armed assistance of England if war should arise.

The Turks rejected the Russian note, and the Russians crossed the Pruth, occupying the Principalities as a "material guarantee." I do not defend this act of Russia ; it has always appeared to me impolitic and immoral ; but I think it likely it could be well defended out of "Vattell," and it is at least as justifiable as the conduct of Lord John Russell and Lord Palmerston in 1850, when they sent ten or twelve ships of war to the Piræus, menacing the town with a bombardment if the dishonest pecuniary claim made by Don Pacifico were not at once satisfied.

But the passage of the Pruth was declared by England and France and Turkey not to be a *casus belli*. Negotiations were commenced at Vienna, and the celebrated Vienna note was drawn up. This note had its origin in Paris and London, and pronounced by all these authorities to be such as would satisfy the honour of Russia, and, at the same time, be compatible with the "independence and integrity" of Turkey, and the honour of the Sultan. Russia accepted this note at once—accepted it, I believe, by telegraph, even before the precise words of it had been received in St. Petersburg. Everybody thought the question now settled—a cabinet minister assured me we should never hear another word about it—"the whole thing is at an end," he said, and so it appeared for a moment. But the Turk refused the note which had been drawn up by his own arbitrators, and which Russia had accepted. And what did the ministers say then, and what did their organ, the *Times*, say ? They said it was merely a difference about words ; it was a pity the Turk made any difficulty, but it would soon be settled. But it was not settled, and why not ? It is said that the Russian government put an improper construction on the Vienna note. But it is unfortunate for those who say this, that the Turk placed precisely the same construction upon it ; and, further, it is upon record that the French government advised the Russian government to accept it on the ground that "its general sense differed in nothing from the sense of the proposition of Prince Menschikoff." It is, however, easy to see why the Russian government should, when the Turks refused the award of their own arbitrators, restate its original claim, that it might not be damaged by whatever concession it had made in accepting the award ; and this is evidently the explanation of the document issued by Count Nesselrode, and about which so much has been said. But, after this, the Emperor of Russia spoke to Lord Westmoreland on the subject, at Olmutz, and expressed his readiness to accept the Vienna note, with any clause which the conference might add to it, explaining and restricting its meaning ; and he urged that this should be done at once, as he was anxious that his troops should re-cross the Pruth before winter. It was this very week that the Turks summoned a grand council, and, contrary to the advice of England and France, determined on a declaration of war.

Now, observe the course taken by our government. They agreed to the Vienna note ; not fewer than five members of this cabinet have filled the office of Foreign Secretary, and, therefore, may be supposed capable of comprehending its meaning ; it was a note drawn up by the friends of Turkey, and by arbitrators self-constituted on behalf of Turkey ; they urged its acceptance on the Russian government, and the Russain government accepted it ; there was then a dispute about its precise meaning, and Russia agreed, and even proposed, that the arbitrators at Vienna should amond it, by explaining it, and limiting its meaning, so that no question of its intention should henceforth exist. But the Turks having rejected it, our government turned round, and declared the Vienna note, *their own note*, entirely inadmissible, and defended the conduct of the Turks in having rejected it. The Turks declared war, against the advice of the English and French governments—so, at least, it appears from the Blue Books ; but the moment war was declared by Turkey, our government openly applauded it. England, then, was committed to the war. She had promised armed assistance to Turkey, a country without government, and whose administration was at the mercy of contending factions ; and, incapable of fixing a policy for herself, she allowed herself to be dragged on by the current of events at Constantinople. She "drifted," as Lord Clarendon said, exactly describing his own position, into the war, apparently without rudder and without compass.

The whole policy of our government in this matter is marked with an imbecility perhaps without example. I will not say that they intended war from the first, though there are not wanting many evidences that war was the object of, at least, a section of the cabinet. A distinguished member of the House of Commons said to a friend of mine, immediately after the accession of the present government to office—"You have a war ministry, and you will have a war." But I leave this question, to point out the disgraceful feebleness of the cabinet, if I am to absolve them from the guilt of having sought occasion for war. They promised the Turk armed assistance on conditions, or without conditions. They, in concert with France, Austria and Prussia, took the original dispute out of the hands of Russia and Turkey, and formed themselves into a court of arbitration in the interests of Turkey ; they made an award, which they declared to be safe and honourable for both parties ; this award was accepted by Russia, and rejected by Turkey ; and they then turned round upon their own award, declared it to be "totally inadmissible," and make war upon the very country whose government, at their suggestion and urgent recommendation, had frankly accepted it. At this moment England is engaged in a murderous warfare with Russia, although the Russian government accepted her own terms of peace, and has been willing to accept them, in the sense of England's own interpretation of them, ever since they were offered ; and, at the same time, England is allied with Turkey, whose government rejected award of England, and who entered into the war in opposition to the advice of England. Surely when the Vienna note was accepted by Russia, the Turks should have been prevented from going to war, or should have been allowed to go to war at their own risk.

I have said nothing here of the fact, that all these troubles have sprung out of demands made by France upon the Turkish government, and urged in language more insulting than any which has been shown to have been used by Prince Menschikoff. I have said nothing of the diplomatic war which has been raging for many years past in Constantinople, and in which England has been behind no other power in attempting to subject the Porte to foreign influences. I have said nothing of the abundant evidence there is that we are not only at war with Russia, but with all the Christian population of the Turkish empire, and that we are building up our Eastern policy on a false foundation, namely, on the perpetual maintenance of the most immoral and filthy of all despotisms over one of the fairest portions of the earth which it has desolated, and over a population it has degraded, but has not been able to destroy. I have said nothing of the wretched delusion that we are fighting for civilization, in supporting the Turk against the Russian, and against the subject Christian population of Turkey. I have said nothing about our pretended sacrifices for freedom in this war, in which one great and now dominant ally is a monarch who, last in Europe, struck down a free constitution, and dispersed, by military violence, a national representative assembly.

My doctrine would have been non-intervention in this case. The danger of the Russian power was a phantom ; the necessity of permanently upholding the Mahometan rule in Europe is an absurdity. Our love for civilization, when we subject the Greeks and Christians to the Turks, is a sham ; and our sacrifices for freedom, when working out the behests of the Emperor of the French, and coaxing Austria to help us, is a pitiful imposture. The evils of non-intervention were remote and vague, and could neither be weighed, nor described in any accurate terms. The good we can judge something of already, by estimating the cost of a contrary policy. And what is that cost ? War in the north and south of Europe, threatening to involve every country of Europe. Many, perhaps 50 millions sterling, in the course of expenditure by this country alone, to be raised from the taxes of a people whose extrication from ignorance and poverty can only be hoped for from the continuance of peace. The disturbance of trade throughout the world, the derangement of monetary affairs, and difficulties and ruin to thousands of families. Another year of high prices of food, notwithstanding a full harvest in England, chiefly because war interferes with imports, and we have declared our principal foreign food-growers to be our enemies. The loss of human life to an enormous extent. Many thousands of our own countrymen have already perished of pestilence and in the field ; and hundreds, perhaps thousands, of English families will be plunged into sorrow as a part of the penalty to be paid for the folly of the nation and its rulers.

When the time comes for the "inquisition for blood," who shall answer for these things ? You have read the tidings from the Crimea ; you have perhaps shuddered at the slaughter ; you remember the terrific picture—I speak not of the battle, and the charge, and the tumultuous excitement of the conflict, but of the field after the battle—Russians in their frenzy, or their terror, shooting Englishmen who would have offered them water to quench their agony of thirst ; Englishmen, in crowds, rifling the pockets of the men they had slain or wounded, taking their few shillings or roubles, and discovering among the plunder of the stiffening corpses images of the "Virgin and the child." You have read this, and your imagination has followed the fearful details. This is war—every crime which human nature can commit or imagine ; every horror it can perpetrate or suffer ; and this it is which our Christian government recklessly plunges into, and which so many of our countrymen at this moment think it patriotic to applaud ! You must excuse me if I cannot go with you. I will have no part in this terrible crime. My hands shall be unstained with the blood which is being shed. The necessity of maintaining themselves in office may influence an Administration ; delusions may mislead a people ; "Vattell" may afford you a law and a defence ; but no respect for men who form a Government, no regard I have for "going with the stream," and no fear of being deemed wanting in patriotism, shall influence me in favour of a policy which, in my conscience, I believe to be as criminal before God as it is destructive of the true interest of my country.

I have only to ask you to forgive me for writing so long a letter. You have forced it from me, and I would not have written it did I not so much appreciate your sincerity and your good intentions towards me.

Believe me to be, very sincerely yours,
JOHN BRIGHT.

ABSALOM WATKIN, Esq., Manchester.

PRESENT CONDITION OF THE GREEK AND ROMISH CHURCH.

EVERYBODY knows that the Greek church has an old feud with the Romish church, and that an orthodox Greek hates the Pope as he hates the Devil. And yet to the eye of a sober Protestant an act of worship in a Greek Church is so very like an act of worship in a Romish Church, that a certain nice observation and deeper study are required to make him appreciate the difference. This similitude it is, and that contrast, which when fully comprehended, make the phenomenon of the Greek Church more easily intelligible. The points of similitude are sufficiently glaring. You have the same studied but vulgar and tasteless appeal to the senses, the same overworking of the pure white vestments of Christian piety with all sorts of vain embroidery and glittering tinsel, the same processional pomp of sacerdotal purple and silver and gold, the same multiplication of reverences and genuflexions and crossings, the same stupid mumbling of endless prayers, the same parade of fasting, contempt of the body, and artificial self-imposed devotionalism of all sorts ; these things, and every other gross symbol of a religion prominently censual, ceremonial, and external, strike the eye in the existing church of Athens no less than in that of Rome. But the Greek church, at first acquaintance, appears even more intolerable to a Protestant eye ; for its sensuous appeals are more vulgar, and its skill in elevating spiritual grossness, by wedding it to an artistical refinement, much inferior. Beneath the light fairy vaulting and chaste tracery of the cathedral of Colonge, when the various chorus swells with the nicely modulated chant, the ear of a cultivated Protestant may be witched into a sentimental popery for a moment ; but the music of the Greek church is something so crude and so ungraceful—something so much more like the utterance of a snoring pig than of a waking and reasonable man, that the artistical instinct of the Protestant hearer strikes a league with his religious judgment, and a feeling of pure pity or even disgust is apt to be the result. Add to this, that seldom or never in the Greek church is an appeal made to the understanding of the hearer by that sort of address which the Scotch are accused of allowing to usurp the place of worship, viz., a sermon. The present writer lived two months in Athens, and never could hear of any such thing as a Greek sermon in the Greek church : but beyond the pale of that church—viz., in the private houses of the American missionaries—Greek discourses were delivered regularly on Sundays. The absence of this element in the worship of the Greeks evidently indicates a very low grade of intellectual culture on the part of their priests, and places them far beneath the learned and rhetorical apostles of the Pope, whom they are accustomed to despise. These unfavourable appearances, however, are only the necessary result of ages of barbarism and neglect ; and when we come to look a little more narrowly into the matter, we discover, that with all its gross sensuousness and abundance of more ceremonial form, the church of Greece is in principle considerably less corrupt, and far more open to amelioration than that of Rome. When we take particular corrupt doctrines or practices of that church, we begin to discover, that by some influence or other the error in the East seems to have stopped half way, while in the-West it has been systematically wrought up to a point of thoroughly self-consistent falsity. Even the puerile quibble of their church logic which separates painted pictures, but not graven images in their temples, is an instance of this tendency to imperfect development. Their rule with regard to celibacy is another. The monks and the higher clergy who are chosen from them dare not know women : but the secular or common working clergy are free to marry. Then again a sort of invocation of saints, and prayers for the dead, are both practised by the Greeks ; but from the culminating invention of purgatory and the venal tinkling of sacerdotal gold in the indulgence box they are free. But the fundamental distinction between the two churches lies in this—that the power of the priesthood in the East did never grow up into that portentous excess which over-rode the West—a greater amount of ecclesiastical and individual freedom remained. This was the grand religious result that flowed from the prolonged continuance of the Byzantine empire. The Pope did not begin to rear his head so loftily in Rome till the Emperor was removed ; and in Byzantum, just because there was an Emperor, there was not, and there could not be, a Pope. The Greek church, in fact, always has been, what they call in Scotland, Erastian—that is, belonging to, or incorporated with the State, and that in a very high degree. The priests were under the influence of the kings, and the people were, for this very reason, less under the influence of the priests. In proportion as sacerdotal corruption was checked by imperial power, those church corruptions which are fostered by sacerdotal pride were stunted in their growth ; the patriarch of Constantinople had less influence over the provincial churches, because he was more under the influence of the Court ; and the individual Greek, while cherishing the highest respect for his churches, because he was not oppressed by the feeling of a formidable conspiracy of priests, hedging him round and round with holy terror, and putting every free thought under ban. Among the other causes of the more open condition of the Greek church, and the less rigid form of many of its corruptions, we must place also the fact that from its peculiar state of prostration of the sixteenth century, it had no Protestantism to encounter and no Lutheran thesis to deny. Had the Greek churchmen been pressed by such vigilant antagonists, they would assuredly have been driven to crystallize, in a more perfect dogmatic shape, many of those errors, of which the germs have long been floating in the loose atmosphere of their faith. But whether from this, or from the other causes mentioned, the fact is certain that there is in practice a great deal more freedom in the existing Greek church than in the Roman Catholic. With a sufficient degree of respect for himself as the only "orthodox" Christian in the world, the Greek is liberal and enlightened enough to have put an express act of toleration into his statute book ; and even missionaries and proselytizers are allowed to hold conventicles, through this—as the extract from the codex given below will prove—is contrary to the letter of the law. The Scriptures also are generally read in Greece and freely circulated ; at least they are generally to be found in the hands of those who have received a common school education, and are not looked upon with suspicion. Moreover there is a perfectly free press in Athens, and the people, inheriting a talking genius from their ancestors, are fond of discussion ; so that from every point of view, the Greek church, if not actually better, is a church far more open to improvement, then that of Rome ; and it is impossible not to recognise the wisdom of Professor Masson's tactics, when he recommends missionaries to attempt the conversion of the Greeks, not by the vulgar method of attacking what is, or appears to be false in their creed, but by showing them with a refined skill, how much of real evangelical truth lies admitted in their own standards, though ignored or abused in their practice. Certain it is, that in the common way of passing over bodily from one religious camp to another, there is not at the present hour the least likelihood of achieving a conversion of the Greeks ; for every good Greek looks upon his church as a bond of nationality, which holds him by the double tie of patriotism and policy. It is high time, however, since the Greeks will not be converted from without, that they should begin seriously to elevate their platform a little from within ; for, an intensely ignorant clergy, and a worship overloaded with all sorts of silly formalism and superstition, cannot exist long side by side with a general improvement of popular education, and an advancing intellectual culture among the middle and upper classes of society. We shall wait, not without anxiety, to hear that the sonorous snivel of which we spoke, the vain repetitions, and interminable fasts, by which the Greek church is at present most popularly known, have given place to a church in some degree worthy of a people, who, whatever may be their faults, are, in point of intellect, intelligence and natural eloquence, not inferior to any in Europe.—*Westminster Review.*

EXECUTION OF MAJOR ANDRE.

THE following interesting account of the execution of Major Andre, Oct. 2, 1780 as given by an eye witness, has been extracted from the Historical Collections of New Jersey :

"I was at that time an artificer in Col. Jedthun Baldwin's regiment, a part of which was stationed within a short distance of the spot where Andre suffered. One of our men (I believe his name was Armstrong) being one of the oldest and best workmen at his trade in the regiment, was selected to make his coffin, which he performed, and painted black, agreeably to the custom in those times. At this time, Andre was confined in what was called a Dutch Church, a small stone building with only one door, and closely guarded by six sentinels. When the hour appointed for his execution arrived, which I believe was two o'clock, P. M., a guard of three hundred men were paraded at the place of his confinement. A kind of procession was formed, by placing a guard in single file on each side of the road. In front were a large number of American officers of high rank on horseback.

"These were followed by a wagon containing Andre's coffin ; then a large number of officers on foot, with Andre in their midst. The procession moved slowly up a moderately rising hill, I should think about a fourth of a mile to the West. On the top was a field without any enclosure. In this was a very high gallows, made by setting up two poles, or crotches, and laying a pole on the top. The wagon that contained the coffin was drawn directly under the gallows. In a short time Andre stepped into the hind end of the wagon ; then on his coffin—took off his hat, and laid it down—then placed his hands upon his hips, and walked very uprightly back and forth, as far as the length of his coffin would permit ; at the same time casting his eyes upon the pole over his head, and the whole scenery by which he was surrounded. He was dressed in what I should call a complete British uniform ; his coat was of the brightest scarlet, faced or trimmed with the most beautiful green. His under clothes, or vest and breeches, were bright buff, very similar to those worn by military officers in Connecticut at the present day. He had a long and beautiful head of hair ; which, agreeably to the fashion, was bound with a black ribband, and hung down his back. All eyes were upon him ; and it is not believed that any officer of the British army, placed in his situation, would have appeared better than the unfortunate man.

"Not many minutes before he took his stand upon the coffin, the executioner stepped into the wagon, with a halter in his hand, which he attempted to put over the head and around the neck of Andre ; but by a sudden movement of the hand this was prevented. Andre took off the handkerchief from his neck, unpinned his shirt collar, and deliberately took the end of the halter, put it over his head and placed the knot directly under his right ear, and drew it very snugly to his neck. He then took from his coat pocket a handkerchief, and tied it over his eyes. This done, the officer that commanded (his name I have forgotten) spoke in rather a loud voice, and said that his arms must be tied. Andre at once pulled down the handkerchief he had just tied over his eyes, and drew from his pocket a second one, and gave it to the executioner, and then replaced his handkerchief. His arms were tied just above the elbows, and behind the back. The rope was then made fast to the pole over head. The wagon was very suddenly drawn from under the gallows, which, with the length of the rope, gave him a most tremendous swing back and forth ; but in a few minutes he hung entirely still.

"During the whole transaction, he appeared as little daunted as Mr. John Rogers is said to have been when he was about to be burned at the stake ; but his countenance was rather pale. He remained hanging, I should think, for twenty or thirty minutes ; and during that time the chambers of death were never stiller than the multitude by which he was surrounded. Orders were given to cut the rope, and take him down, without letting him fall. This was done, and his body carefully laid on the ground. Shortly after, the guard was withdrawn, and spectators were permitted to come forward and view the corpse ; but the crowd was so great that it was some time before I could get an opportunity. When I was able to do this, his coat, vest, and breeches were taken off, and his body laid in the coffin, covered by some underclothes. The top of the coffin was not put on. I viewed the corpse more carefully than I had ever done that of any human being before. His head was very much on one side, in consequence of the manner in which the halter drew upon his neck. His face appeared to be greatly swollen, and very black, much resembling a high degree of mortification. It was indeed a shocking sight to behold. There were at this time, standing at the foot of the coffin, two young men, of uncommon short stature, I should think not more than four feet high. Their dress was the most gaudy that I ever beheld. One of them had the clothes, just taken from Andre, hanging on his arm. I took particular pains to learn who they were ; and was informed that they were his servants, sent up from New York to take his clothes ; but what other business I did not learn.

"I now turned to take a view of the executioner, who was still standing by one of the posts of the gallows. I walked nigh enough to him to have laid my hand upon his shoulder, and looked him directly in the face. He appeared to be about twenty-five years of age, his beard of two or three weeks' growth, and his whole face covered with what appeared to me to be blacking taken from the outside of a greasy pot. A more frightful looking being I never beheld ; his whole countenance bespeke him to be a fit instrument for the business he had been doing. Wishing to see the closing of the whole business, I remained upon the spot until scarce twenty persons were left, but the coffin was still beside the grave, which had previously been dug. I now returned to my tent, with my mind deeply imbued with the shocking scene I had been called to witness."

A MONUMENT TO JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

From the Quincy Patriot, Nov. 25.

A MONUMENT has just been placed in the Unitarian Church in this town to the memory of John Quincy Adams, by his son, Hon Charles F. Adams. It is composed of highly-polished Italian marble, and in size and form nearly resembles the one erected to the ex-President John Adams, with the exception of the upper part where the bust rests, which is enciosed on both sides by the upper members of the cornish, that sweeps upward in graceful lines towards it. It was designed and executed, at the Quincy Marble Works, by McGrath, Mitchell & Co., and is beautiful and perfect in all its parts, and cannot fail to add much to the already wide-extended reputation of the manufacturers, for ability and faithfulness of executing their work. The bust, which rests upon the top, was executed in Italy, by the great American sculptor, Hiram Powers, and is very perfect and life-like in its resemblance of the venerated statesman to whose memory it is erected. Immediately under the bust is a Latin sentence composed of two words, "*Alteri Seculo*," separated by an oak branch, with two leaves and one acorn. The following is the inscription :

ALTERI SECULO.
A. O.
Near this place
Reposes all that could die of
JOHN QUINCY ADAMS,
Son of John and Abigail (Smith) Adams,
Sixth President of the United States.
Born 11 July, 1767.
Amidst the storms of civil Commotion
He nursed the Vigour
Which nerves a Statesman and a Patriot,
And the Faith
Which inspires a Christian.
For more than half a Century,
Whenever his Country called for his Labours,
In either Hemisphere or in any Capacity,
He never spared them in her Cause.
On the twenty-fourth of December, 1814,
He singed the second Treaty with Great Britain,
Which restored Peace within her Borders.
On the twenty-third of February, 1848,
He closed sixteen years of eloquent Defence
Of the Lessons of his Youth,
By dying at his Post
In her great national Council.
A Son, worthy of his Father,
A Citizen, shedding glory on his Country,
A Scholar, ambitious to advance Mankind,
This Christian sought to walk humbly
In the sight of his God.

Beside him lies
His Partner for fifty years,
LOUISA CATHERINE,
Daughter of Joshua and Catherine (Nuth) Johnson,
Born, 12 February, 1775.
Married, 26 July, 1797.
Deceased, 15 May, 1852,
Aged 77.
Living through many Vicissitudes, and
Under high Responsibilities
As a Daughter, Wife and Mother,
She proved equal to all.
Dying, she left to her Family and her Sex
The blessed Remembrance
Of a "Woman that feareth the Lord."
"HEREIN IS THAT SAYING TRUE, ONE SOWETH AND ANOTHER REAPETH. I SENT YOU TO REAP THAT WHEREON YE BESTOWED NO LABOUR. OTHER MEN LABOURED, AND YE ARE ENTERED INTO THIER LABOURS."

THE FATE OF SIR JOHN FRANKLIN.

To the Editor of the London Times :

SIR : The question has frequently been asked of me, "How can I account for so few of the unfortunate party forming the expedition under Sir John Franklin being seen by the Esquimaux, and for all these being found dead at or near one spot ?"

It is my duty, as well as my desire, to give every information on this distressing subject, not only to the relatives and friends of the lost men, but also to the public at large, and the best medium of doing so is through the columns of your "far and wide" spread journal, should you consider the following remarks worthy of a place therein :

As I have not the blue-books on the subject of Arctic discovery by me, I may make some error in my statements ; but, as far as my memory serves me, the last news we had from Sir John Franklin, in 1845, was that he had provisions for three, or somewhat more than three years, which he could make last for four. Again, the captain of a whaler, whose name I forget, says that "the crews of the Erebus and Terror, when in Baffin's Bay, on their passage westward, were killing and salting down great numbers of waterfowl, as a resource in case of necessity."

The information obtained by me from the Esquimaux (by a mode of questioning which they understood, and in which they were induced to explain the different places where they had passed the Winter seasons since the year 1849) was, I consider, perfectly conclusive as to the Spring of 1850 being the period of the melancholy catastrophe to which I refer. This will make the time elapsed since Sir John Franklin was last seen in Baffin's Bay until the Spring of 1850 very nearly five years.

Supposing that the provisions carried from England by the expedition did last four years (by the end of which I have no doubt the crews of the vessels would be much reduced in numbers, and those that survived greatly debilitated), the party would be wholly thrown on the greasy, rancid, salted waterfowl, which I believe most persons will agree with me in thinking would increase the fatality of scurvy, if it already existed, or cause that dread disease, if it had not previously made its appearance.

This may account rationally for so few white men having been seen by the natives.

Again, "as to all the dead being found at or near the same place."

Nothing is more natural or more easily accounted for by a person of experience in the Arctic Seas, and whose mind is properly constructed.

Let us for a moment picture to ourselves a party of gallant men reduced by want, and perhaps disease, to great extremity, pushing their way to the mouth of a large river, such as the Back, the ice on which they expected would break up in a short time and permit them to embark in their boat. Having arrived near such river the strength of some had failed, so that they could not travel even when unattached to the sledge, and the others were unable to drag them. What step would brave men take in such a difficulty ? My reply would be—cling together—stop, and let the stronger endeavour to kill game for the support of themselves and the weaker until the ice broke up, then embark, turn by turn, in the boat and thus travel with much greater ease and speed than when on foot.

To show that this opinion is not a mere fancy or fiction on my part, I may mention that my first feeling on hearing the mournful tidings was one of regret that I had not been with the suffering party—a feeling difficult to analyze, but which must have arisen instantaneously and without reflection, from an idea that my greater experience of Arctic travelling and hunting might have been useful in extremity and danger.

I state this not as anything praiseworthy or commendable on my part, but to explain what I think would be the sentiments of any man having the ordinary amount of courage and love for his fellow-man.

Another point to which I would for a moment advert is the tragic event connected with the last days of our countrymen.

The Esquimaux whom I saw at Pelly Bay preceded me to Repulse Bay, and when I returned, were living in the most friendly terms with the three men left in charge of our property there. None of these men understood a word of the Esquimaux language, yet I was informed by them, before I had communicated any of my news, that they believed a party of white men had died of starvation far to the westward, and that they had been reduced to a very dreadful alternative before death. On my asking my informants how they had discovered this, they replied, by the signs made them by the natives.

It may be demanded why I did not give all these reasons in corroboration of my statements in the report to the Admiralty ? The answer is simple ; I kept such for my more detailed report to the Hon. Hudson's Bay Company, which circumstances, to which I have alluded in a previous communication that appeared in your paper, have prevented me from completing.

I may add, in support of what I stated a few days ago regarding men carrying with them useless articles on having to abandon their ship in the Arctic Sea, that I have since learnt from the best authority—Sir John Ross himself—that in effecting his wonderful escape, after a three years detention in Prince Regent's Inlet, he distributed his silver plate among the men, rather than leave it behind, and thus brought most of it to England with him.

Should you think these remarks worthy of your notice, you would oblige me much by giving them insertion.

I have the honour to be, sir, your very obedient servant, JOHN RAE.

Tavistock Hotel, Nov. 6.

THEODORE PARKER ON THANKSGIVING DAY.

[Extract from his Sermon, reported in the Boston *Telegraph*.]

STILL we are not a just people ; we are not a kind people. The merchants who kidnaps between Boston and Quincy is the type of our business men ; the men who finds sanction in the epistle of Paul for human servitude is the type of our theology. As a people we keep within us an institution of mediæval tyranny. He had seen the right of jury trial cloven down. There was no right so dear to the American nation as the right to steal men. There was no defence of the church so well illustrated as the defence of slavery. Slavery violates every precept of Christianity, yet the church was its warmest defender. Within twenty miles of this city, within the last four or five years, how many men had there been driven from the pulpit, because of their views on this subject! Nehemiah Adams finds incontrovertible evidence of St. Paul's miraculous mission, in that he says nothing against slavery. Education in Massachusetts, you know what it is ; in South Carolina, what is it ? Even the white labouring population cannot read or write. At the South the law forbids the teaching of the slave the three letters which spell "G-o-d" ; and Mrs. Douglass, in Virginia, within the past year, was sent to jail for a month for teaching little children to read. In America one-eighth of the population are slaves, knowing nothing, possessing nothing but the brute will of a master. Here it is a crime to escape from this degradation—the rank of beasts. American democracy is a great institution—for holding one-eighth of her men in bondage, and making one-eighth of her women the prey of the strong and lustful.

Mr. Parker hear read, as appropriate to the day the interesting narrative statement of the sufferings and recent escape from slavery of Chas. Mason, on board the schooner "Franklin," from Florida bound to Bath—who, being discovered by the master was threatened to be returned to the South by the first vessel that he met with, going thitherward, and who, to escape such a fate, took the boat of the vessel and escaped to Holmes' Hole, where he was protected by members of the Gay Head tribe of *Indians*, and finally taken to New Bedford, where he found numerous friends. Mr. Parker said he had the names of the two Indians that most befriended the fugitive, but he dare not tell them, for do we not know that there is a Fugitive Slave bill ; that we have Fugitive Slave law judges—two of them ; a Commissioner ; a Judge of Probate, who had stained with blood his hands ; an United States Attorney ; a Marshal ; also, minor bailiffs—he knew not how many. But it was enough that the man was saved.

Two days after, a national vessel—named after a man that Free Soilers made a judge, and the Democratic party elevated to his present position of mischief—the revenue cutter "Caleb Cushing," appeared at the mouth of the Kennebec in pursuit, as was well supposed, of this flying fugitive ; and last week, the United States Government sent a messenger to New Bedford to gather such information as he might of those friends of the poor bondsmen who had placed him in safety. But he would say that the Vigilance Committee of Boston and New Bedford, each with an arm stretched outward, one from the northward, the other from the southward, had taken up the homeless wanderer and placed him where he was in security and peace.

Yesterday, continued Mr. P., I had the honour to be arrested and brought before the Fugitive Slave bill Court. I have had several honours in my life ; but I believe this is the greatest and best of all. There stares me in the face a fine, I believe, of a thousand dollars, and imprisonment in the common jail for the period of six months. Massachusetts has already been disgraced by a Grand Jury—the like of which could not be found in our fathers' time—which calls in question the utterance of the rights of man and the inestimable truths of humanity in Faneuil Hall ! I say, a Massachusetts Grand Jury finds a bill of indictment. It remains to be seen if a Pettit Jury will find a conviction—for which I am to wait the three months that are to come.

The exiles to America were not half so sad to look upon as those exiles which we send into bondage. At his own house, at the same time, he had an exile from Hungary and from Georgia, the latter he could not keep, and she blessed God for her liberty, denied her under the stars and stripes, which she found beneath the flag of old England.

Gleanings from Foreign Publications.

The Poet Laureate is said to be occupied in the composition of an ode on the battle of the Alma.

——Thackeray, it is said, meditates a second lecturing-tour in America as soon as his *Newcomes* is finished.

——The first book specially announced as for Christmas, is one by the author of "Vanity Fair," with fifty cuts by Mr. Thackeray himself.

——The *Cologne Gazette* notices a rumour current at Brussels, according to which Prince Napoleon, the heir presumptive to the French throne, is about to espouse the daughter of King Leopold, a grandchild of Louis Philippe.

——Alexander Smith has been appointed assistant to the Astronomer Royal for Scotland, her Majesty, during her late visit to Edinburgh, being graciously pleased to signify in this way her approbation of the young poet's astronomical descriptions.

——THE IRISH IN MELBOURNE.—Mr. Smith O'Brien has been presented with a cup of Victoria gold, the proceeds of a public subscription at Melbourne, toward the expense of which £1,000 has been collected in Melbourne, £400 in Geelong, and a large sum from the diggings. The promoters of this demonstration are the Irish residents, who are numerous and very wealthy.

——Occasionally Robert Hall was very severe upon his ministerial brethren. One evening, in a rather crowded place, a minister was preaching very *finely* and *flourishingly* to little purpose, from the "white horse," and the "red horse," and the "black horse," and the "pale horse," in the Revelations. Robert Hall sat very impatiently, and when the sermon closed he pushed out towards the door, saying "Let me out of this horse-fair."

——Lord Palmerston's *dictum* at Romsey that all children are "born good" has provoked quite a storm. The noble lord has got a rap on the knuckles for dealing with theological difficulties. The *Daily News* is obliged to keep back the indignant letters it has received, but prints one from a correspondent who pathetically avers that the home secretary, who has no family, would tell a different story had he the experience of "a father of twelve children."

——A correspondent of the *Literary Gazette*, residing at Easton, Essex, sends intelligence of the discovery of another portrait of Shakspeare : "A few days since, I purchased a small oval portrait, on wood, 6in. by 4 5-8in., of the bard of Avon. It is painted a little to the right, with a pale pleasant countenance, but no ears nor ear-rings are seen. The ruff is single, with a lace-pointed edge, and nearly covers the shoulders, and the garment is of a violet colour, stripped across, with a broad green lace down the front, and yellow buttons. It is a bust-length, and I shall call it the Easton Shakspeare of 1854, by Nicholas Hillyard, by whom I believe it to have been painted.—James Clarke."

——Some time since, Thomas Carlyle wrote a kindly letter to one who has fallen into the singsong method of expressing his thoughts when he has any. In it, among other things, he remarks that "the volume is calculated to create an interest in the author's behalf, at once joyful and sad, indeed, it is dashed with manifold apprehensions withal, in considering the perilous career you are now upon ! I wish I could give you any advice or help, of the least use ; but alas! who can advise or help ? In the end there is no help for a man, nor any hindrance either, except what lies in himself, and in the wisdom, or want of wisdom, he may have ! For one thing (which includes many) it would be of good augury, in my mind, if you turned your fine intelligence to some more solid province than that of verse-writing. With many cordial good wishes, were they of any use to you, I remain, &c.

——TAKING A HAT OFF AT A FUNERAL.—It was stated in the *Weekly News*, a short time ago, that a fisherman had been cited in the Exeter Consistorial Court for "brawling" in the parish churchyard, whilst attending his grandmother's funeral. The offence consisted in his not taking off his hat when required to do so by the curate. The weather was cold, and Dunn (who is a dissenter, and a very well-conducted man) had been ill ; besides, he said, the Bible did not require it. The curate stated in the articles of complaint that Dunn "looked defiantly and impudently at him," but this is denied by those present. The case was finally adjudicated upon by the Rev. Chancellor Martin, at Exeter, who said that the defendant's conduct, if free from premeditated disrespect, and not actually a breach of the law, was certainly on the very verge of it, and the defendant only "narrowly escaped" the penalties. On the other hand, it was much to be regretted that the promovent of the suit had not tried quiet and Christian remonstrance, instead of legal proceedings. The sentence was that the articles were not proved, and that the defendant was dismissed.

——LORD PALMERSTON ON HUMAN NATURE.—Although it has been the pleasure of our Maker, in a world which is a world of trial and transition, and not the ultimate destiny of mankind—though it has been the pleasure of our Maker to subject a great portion of the human race to trials and privations to enable them to qualify themselves for the future state that awaits them, yet Providence has not been niggardly in the distribution of those qualities which are calculated to secure happiness to those who conduct themselves well upon this earth. All the good qualities of human—the qualities of mind and of heart—everything that tends to dignify our species and to enable men to distinguish themselves in the condition in which they have been placed—these qualities have been sown broadcast over the human race, and are as abundantly dispersed among the humblest classes as they are among the highest classes of the land (renewed cheers). You will find that all